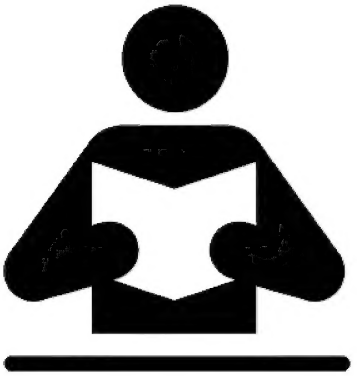


Nancy Hanks Lincoln Public Library

NANCY HANKS LINCOLN PUBLIC LIBRARY
Historical Book Collection

The text of this book remains unchanged from the original published version. It should be noted that some comments or words in this edition might be culturally insensitive to certain readers. Views and words of the author or authors are theirs alone and not of the Nancy Hanks Lincoln Public Library. Certain words or slang used in the past had different cultural meanings at the time and might not mean the same thing today.

Publishing and spelling errors remain unchanged from the original versions. All text images were reproduced exactly without changes to the existing material.

LAURA FISH JUDD.

HONOLULU

SKETCHES OF LIFE

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS,

IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

FROM 1828 TO 1861.

BY

LAURA FISH JUDD.

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY SKETCH OF EVENTS TO 1880.

NEW YORK
ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & COMPANY

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

COPYRIGHT, 1880, BY
ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & COMPANY.

NEW YORK:
EDWARD O. JENKINS, PRINTER,
20 *North William St.*

Add'l
GIFT

DU 627
J8

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

As the reader will see, this book is not designed to be a history of the Hawaiian Islands. It does not occupy the field taken by the historians Dibble, Bingham or Jarves, nor that of the later writers, Nordhoff, Miss Bird or Mr. Chaney. My mother's narrative is a compilation of the personal recollections of one who had rare opportunities for observation among the chiefs and people of Hawaii from the year 1828.

The intimate connection of my father with Hawaiian history would entitle him to say without egotism, "Quorum pars magna fui," and this work is occupied so largely with describing his agency in building the ship of State of this little kingdom, that it may be regarded more as a tribute to his memory, than as an attempt at history-writing.

But few of the actors in the scenes portrayed now survive, and the twenty years that have elapsed since they were written have, I trust, dulled the sensitiveness of those who might think some of the reflections are too severe or of too personal a nature to be published. Every new fact added to our knowledge is valuable, and I have withheld none from this record, though by this

course I may possibly excite unfriendly criticism. In a supplementary chapter I have brought the narrative of events down to the present time.

The Hawaiian kingdom still stands prosperous and respected, making and executing its own laws, its autonomy preserved. It occupies but a little share of the world's attention, but it presents to-day the only instance of a nation lifted from the darkness of heathenism to the light of Christian civilization without the destruction of the native Government.

ALBERT FRANCIS JUDD.

HONOLULU, *Oct.* 1, 1880.

PREFACE.

THE writer of these unpretending sketches does not claim for them any literary merit. Her friends, at whose request the work is published, will excuse the egotism which unavoidably runs through it. She has endeavored to obtrude personal feelings and affairs as little as possible.

If the coloring is partial, or should be thought by some too deeply shaded, it must be remembered that the views are sketched from her own stand-point.

If there are missing links in the chain of events, the author has only to say that she has not pretended to write a history of the Hawaiian kingdom, but has culled and abridged from the mass of papers before her, so as to present the important incidents of each year in panorama, omitting much in order to avoid personalities and tediousness. If the work should awaken any interest for the races of Polynesia, if it draw forth one tear of sympathy for the nations yet in darkness, one prayer for the rising of the Sun of Righteousness, her ambition will be satisfied.

HONOLULU, *May*, 1861.

CONTENTS.

I.

PAGE

Extracts from an Old Journal—Passage in the Ship *Parthian*—First Sight of Hawaii—Oahu—Arrival—What I Saw—Welcome 1

II.

Landing—The Carriages—Call on Kaahumanu—The Rabble—Mission House—Reception—Dinner—Kaahumanu—The Natives—Chiefs—Strange Sights and Sounds 4

III.

Kitchen Incident—Servants—My Birthday Walk—Native Huts and Habits—Presents—Kaahumanu—Visiting the Sick—Lydia Namahana—Robert and Hakahii—Sea Captains—Call on Boki—What I Saw There 9

IV.

Laundry—English Consul's Lady and her Sister—Visiting the Sick—Kaahumanu—Ruth—Mrs. Bingham—Shirts and a Coat for Royalty—Letter to a Friend—Weddings in Church—Fees—Death of Robert and Wife 14

V.

Assembling of Missionaries—A Sick Child—Fashions—The Children—Native School Exhibition—Dress—Progress—Rival Families of Chiefs—Principles 19

VI.

Visit to Lahaina—Yachting—Native Navigators—Lahaina—The King and Princess—Language 23

VII.

Visit to Wailuku—Chair Bearers—Our Host—Return over the Mountains—Booths—Bird Catchers and Feather Tax—July 4th 26

VIII.

The House—Commencing School—The Weather—Short Allowance—Foraging—Relief 30

IX.

Arrival of the *Honqua*—Letters and Supplies—Reflections—Letter to Mrs. C.—Mother, etc.—Native Mothers and Children—Infanticide—One Rescued 33

X.

Arrival of the *Vincennes*—C. S. Stewart—The *Dolphin*—Laws—King's Reception of Captain Finch—Presents—Behind the Curtain—A Tea-Party 36

XI.

The New Church—Preparations for the Dedication—A Dilemma . 39

XII.

Visit to Hawaii—Health Station—Captains Rice and Smith—Captain Cook's Heart—His Death—Birth-place of Obookaiah—The Heiau—Kapiolani—Kawaihae—John Young—Waimea—Waipo 42

XIII.

Death of Kaahumanu—The New Testament—Incidents—Kinau, as Kaahumanu II.—The East India Squadron 47

XIV.

Changes for the Worse, 1832—Kaomi—Kinau—Boki in 1829—His Departure—Madam Boki—A Revolution—A Settlement—Governor Adams—Reverend John Diell, Seamen's Chaplain . . 51

XV.

Religious Interest—Visits from House to House—Kinau as a Housekeeper—As a Friend—Auhea—Her Tea-Party . . 56

XVI.

Birth of Prince Alexander—Adopted by the King—What took place—Nahienaena: her Death and Funeral 59

XVII.

Mr. Richards' First Embassy—The King's Marriage—The Donation to the Church—Hilo—The Volcano—Half-way House—Night at the Crater—The Descent—Stone Church at Honolulu 62

XVIII.

Children of Missionaries—How to be Educated—Different Opinions 67

XIX.

Schools for Native Children—School-House—Materials . . 69

XX.

Reinforcements — Household Duties — Discussions — Location — A Maternal Association—More Discussions—A New School-room—School for Young Chiefs—Birth of a Princess—Prince Alexander—English Finery—November Weather . . . 71

XXI.

Temperance in 1839—Security—Education in the Native Language—Political Economy—Mr. Richards—Feudal System—Laws—Dr. Judd—Difficulties—French Priests—Proselytes—Idolatry—Arrival of La Place—His Demands—Reflections—The East India Squadron under Commodore Read—Death of Kinau . 78

XXII.

Sickness and Death of a Child—Hoohano, a Medical Student—Native Poetry—Death of a Midshipman 85

XXIII.

Second Visit to Wailuku—Lahaina Luna—Hard Traveling—Over the Isthmus—Welcome—Changes at Wailuku—Female Boarding-schools—Sickness among the Pupils—East Maui, the Wheat Region 88

XXIV.

The King and Premier—Return to Lahaina—Intemperance—Beginning of Reform—Return to Honolulu—Trouble on Board the Schooner—The Royal School—Changes in the Mission—Punahou School—Departure of Mr. and Mrs. Bingham . . 92

XXV.

Kapiolani—Caves at Kaawaloa—A Crazy Woman Exploring—What She Found—Kapiolani tells Stories—Consequences of Violating a Taboo—Surgical Operation—Death of Kapiolani . 96

XXVI.

The United States Exploring Expedition—Their Operations—A Picnic—Ascent of Mauna Loa—Dr. Judd's Letter—His Danger and Escape – Our First Thanksgiving—More about the Expedition—A Native Trick—Mr. and Mrs. Jarves . . . 100

XXVII.

The Belgian Contract—A Lease of all Unoccupied Lands—Object of the Lease—Mr. Brinsmade's Departure—Temperance at Lahaina—Plans of the Government—Departure of Richards and Haalilio—The English Consul Follows—Deputy Consul not Acknowledged—Commissions—Dr. Judd's Salary—One More Commission—Letter of Dr. Judd to the Mission—A Vote of Thanks—A Word of Change—What Mr. Brinsmade did . 106

XXVIII.

G. P. Judd to the Envoy—Sir George Simpson's Views—About Lands—Extract from another Letter—The Lands Recorded—A Lawyer Wanted—Letters—Mr. Richards—Temperance—Tobacco Reform—The Great Commandment—The Government Commenced—Queen Pomare—A French Ship-of-War—A Narrow Escape—Letter to Mrs. L. on the Training of Children 112

XXIX.

Cession of the Islands to Great Britain—Arrival of the *Carysfort*—Revenge of the Deputy-Consul—Arrival of the King—Deputy acknowledged—More Demands—Dark Days—Many Men of many Minds—The King gives up—Flag changed—Islands governed by a Commission—King returns to Lahaina—G. P. Judd to Envoys—Arrival of the *Constellation*—Admiral Thomas arrives—He restores the Flag—The Ceremonies—United States Commissioner and English Consul-General . . . 118

XXX.

My First Diplomatic Dinner—Our New Home—A Daughter Born under the English Flag—Why the Hawaiian Flag was Restored—My Husband Ill—John Ricord—Secretary of Foreign Affairs—The Soldiers Pardoned—Restoration Party—The Census Improvements—Mr. Damon—The New Palace—Restoration Anthem 125

XXXI.

Letter of President Tyler—A Declaration—William Richards to G. P. Judd—Mr. Brinsmade's Letter—Prospects of Failure—Sir Geo. Simpson's Letter—Belgian Hopes and Promises—Admiral Thomas' Parting Address—Parting Salutations—Ship of State fairly Launched—Mr. Ricord—Mr. Wyllie—Dr. Judd—Mr. Richards' Return—Mourning for Haalilio—Leleihoku—Death of Gov. Adams; his Effects—A Struggle—Haalilio—Death of Auhea; her History 133

XXXII.

King resides at Honolulu—Furnishing a Palace—The Queen—Going to Church—Rivalry—Our Removal—Boarders—Politics in the Family—Trouble with George Brown—Trouble Generally—Mr. Richards' Troubles—Visit of Sir Geo. F. Seymour—Agitation at Lahaina—The King to Petitioners—King's Addresses—John Young's Addresses—The Oath of Allegiance—The Native Government Supreme 141

XXXIII.

Letter from a Distinguished Traveler—Opening of the Legislative Chambers—Feather Cloak—The Diplomatic Corps—Female Legislators—The King's Speech—The Traveler's Testimony—Sabbath Evening Service at the Palace—The King's Birthday—An Accident—Letter from a Correspondent—Dr. Judd's Letter 151

XXXIV.

Mr. Wyllie's Report for 1844—Arrival of Admiral Hamelin—The $20,000 Returned—Entertainments—New Treaties—Statistics—Native Girls—History of Kaili—A Pattern Life . . . 159

XXXV.

Remove to a New House—The Bridges Gone—Going to Church—Nuuanu Road—A Grand Celebration, July 31—Eatables—The New Commissioner—The New United States Consul—King's Address—Mr. Brinsmade returned—More Trouble—The Arbitration—Mr. Richards Sick—Mr. Ricord resigns—Judge Lee—Changes among the Missionaries—New Buildings and Old Ones—Embarrassments—Death of Mr. Richards—Funeral 164

XXXVI.

Extracts from Journal, 1848—Mr. Jarves resigns—Mr. Dillon arrives and Bishop Maigret—Massacre of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman at Oregon—Portrait of Louis Philippe—Opening of the Legislature—Intemperance and Temperance—Report of Minister of the Interior—Hamburg Treaty—Louis Philippe Dethroned—Gold in California—A. B. Bates and Family arrived

—Reminiscences—Trouble Ahead—The Measles—The Land Commission—Committee to Divide the Lands—Mr. Armstrong —The Young Princes 172

XXXVII.

School Composition—Old Hannah—Her Fortune—Extract of a Letter from a Prince 181

XXXVIII.

Journal, 1849—Death of Alapai—Arrival of Admiral de Tromelin —Courtesies—Arrival of the Steamer *Gassendi*—Imperative Demands—Destruction of the Fort—Seizure of Vessels—Visit of Madame Dillon—Negotiations—The Yacht Carried Off—My Husband Going to France 184

XXXIX.

Visit of U. S. Ship *St. Mary's*—Address of Commodore Voorhies —The President's Message—E. H. Allen, United States Consul—Breakfast at the Palace—Letters from Dr. Judd and the Princes—California—The Treaty—At the Irving House—In London—At the Foreign Office—In Paris—The British Ambassador—Protracted Negotiations—The Princes Employed —Presentation to Louis Napoleon—The Greek Ambassador—Duc de Broglie—Guizot—Mr. Rives—Return to London . . 192

XL.

The Embassy in England—Visit to Admiral Thomas—Plymouth The Adelphi—Lord Palmerston—Lord George Paulet and Lieutenant Frere—Buckingham Palace—The French Ambassador—Dining Out—The Treaty Discussed—Mr. Wyllie's Letter 203

XLI.

Return to the U. S.—Letter from one of the Princes—Washington—Funeral of Calhoun—Reception at President Taylor's—Letter from Dr. Judd—An Anecdote—Daniel Webster—Fête Champétre at Staten Island—Niagara—Return to the Islands —Results of the Embassy 208

XLII.

Mr. Armstrong's Address—Good Advice—Events in 1850 and 1851—Royal Haw. Agricultural Soc.—Judge Lee's Address—Extract from Mr. Wyllie's Address—Don Marin's Journal—His Character—Eruption on Mauna Loa—Distilling and Wine-Making 212

XLIII.

Filibusters—Report of Minister—Military Preparations—Counter Arguments—The Atmosphere Clearing up—Progress . . 219

XLIV.

A Dark Chapter—The Small-pox—How Introduced—Vaccination—Board of Health—Sedition Fomented—Indignation Meetings—Chmmittee of Thirteen—Petitions—Panic at the Palace—Resignation of the Ministers—A Torchlight Procession—Dr. Judd a Private Citizen—Letter from Lahaina 222

XLV.

Hopes of Annexation—A Fourth of July Celebration—Death of Kamehameha III.—His Character—A Commoner's Biography 227

XLVI.

Honolulu in 1861—Statistics—Census—Buildings—The Queen's Hospital—Markets—Lawyers and Doctors—King Kamehameha IV.—A Free Press—The Catholics—Amusements—Climate—Cemetery—The People—Present Wants . . . 233

Appendix I.—Letter from Dr. Judd to Mr. Wyllie . . . 239

Appendix II.—Recent History of the Hawaiian Islands . . 249

I.

EXTRACTS FROM AN OLD JOURNAL.

Extracts from an Old Journal—Passage in the Ship "Parthian"—First Sight of Hawaii—Oahu—Arrival—What I Saw—Welcome.

SHIP "*Parthian*," *March*, 1828.

RIGHT before us, up in the clouds, and apparently distant but a stone's throw, appears a spot of beautiful, deep blue, intermingled with dazzling white. It is land!—the snow-capped summit of Mauna Kea, on the island of Hawaii. Among the passengers the excitement is intense and variously expressed; some rush below to their state-rooms to pour out their hearts in gratitude and thanksgiving, others fear to turn away lest the scene fade or prove a delusion, like our dreams of home land; some exhaust their vocabulary in exclamations of delight—others sit alone in tears and silence.

What wonder that we so long for release from this little prison-house! We have suffered many hardships, often unexpected. The ladies, ten in number, have been obliged to perform the drudgery of steward and cabin-boy, as the services of these functionaries have been denied us by the captain, although, *mirabile dictu*, he did in his condescension allow his black cook to prepare our food after his, if furnished and conveyed to the ship's galley. We possessed but little practical knowledge of the arts of the *cuisine* at first, but have sometimes as-

tonished each other and ourselves at our success in producing palatable dishes, and most of all, light bread. These trials of patience and skill will be of use to us in our future housekeeping.

The voyage is now over, but I must run on deck to look again on that deep blue spot. The ship glides along smoothly; the clouds open—the blue space has become a broad mountain; now we see the green valleys and dashing cascades all along the northern shores of the island. The scene reminds one of the pilgrim's land of Beulah. Can anything so fair be defiled by idol worship and deeds of cruelty?

We shall pass the island of Maui to-night, and reach Oahu to-morrow, which will be Sunday. We have packed our baggage in the smallest possible compass, and have everything ready to go ashore on Monday morning. We retire to rest with mingled anticipations of pain and pleasure. For once we regret that to-morrow will be the Sabbath; we look up for guidance—our Heavenly Father will pity us.

SUNDAY MORNING, *March* 30.

The island of Oahu, our *Ultima Thule*, looms up in the distance, displaying gray and red rocky hills, unrelieved by a single shade of green, forbidding enough in aspect. Now we pass the old crater, Diamond Head, and we can see a line of cocoanut trees stretching gracefully along the sea beach for a mile or more. "Please give me the glass for a moment. There! I see the town of Honolulu, a mass of brown huts, looking precisely like so many haystacks in the country; not one white cottage, no church spire, not a garden nor a tree to be seen save the grove of cocoanuts. The background of green hills and mountains is picturesque. A host of living, moving beings

are coming out of that long, brown building; it must be Mr. Bingham's congregation just dismissed from morning service; they pour out like bees from a hive. I can see their draperies of brown, black, white, pink and yellow native tapa."

Hark! there goes a gun for the pilot; our captain seems somewhat flurried; afraid of the land, perhaps; I surely am not. How I long for a run on those green hills! But patience till to-morrow.

Evening—our last one on board the *Parthian.* We have sung our last evening hymn together. Mutual suffering has created mutual sympathy, and we separate in Christian friendship.

We received a short but welcome visit from Messrs. Bingham, Chamberlain and Goodrich, on their way to hold service on board the ship *Enterprise.* They look careworn and feeble; Mr. W—— said "hungry." They gave us a cordial welcome to their field of labor, which they describe as "whitening for the harvest." Mr. Goodrich brought some sugar cane and fresh lavender; the fragrance of the latter made me wild with delight. I have been on deck to look at the town and harbor. There are flitting lights among the shipping, but none visible on shore. The houses are windowless, looking dark and dreary as possible. "Here we are to live and labor," said good Dr. Worcester, "until the land is filled with churches, school-houses, fruitful fields and pleasant dwellings." When will it be?

II.

Landing—The Carriages—Call on Kaahumanu—The Rabble—Mission House—Reception—Dinner——Kaahumanu—The Natives—Chiefs—Strange Sights and Sounds.

MISSION HOUSE, *March* 31.

WE passed a sleepless night; the vessel being at anchor we missed the accustomed rocking. At nine o'clock this morning we were handed over the ship's side (by our kind and unwearying friend Mr. S——, the mate), into the launch, and were towed ashore, twenty in number, passing quite a fleet of ships, on board of which we saw native men and women.

Landing at the Fort we were received by the acting Governor, Manuia, a very gentlemanly-looking person, dressed in half military costume. He spoke a little English as he escorted us to the gate, where vehicles were ready to take us to the Mission, a mile distant. These vehicles consisted of a yellow one-horse wagon and two blue hand-carts, all drawn by natives, and kindly furnished by the Queen Regent, Kaahumanu; but I could not be persuaded to ride in such style, and begged to walk with my husband.

We stopped on the way at the door of the royal lady, who joined our procession after welcoming us most cordially to her dominions. She is tall, stately, and dignified; often overbearing in her manner, but with a countenance beaming with love whenever she addresses

her teachers. She was dressed in striped satin, blue and pink, with a white muslin shawl and Leghorn bonnet, the latter worn doubtless in compliment to us, as the common head-dress is a wreath of feathers or flowers.

We were followed all the way from the landing by a crowd of natives, men, women and children, dressed and undressed. Many of the men wore a sheet of native cloth, tied on one shoulder, not unlike the Roman toga; one had a shirt *minus* pantaloons, another a pair of pantaloons *minus* a shirt; while a large number were destitute of either. One man looked very grand with an umbrella and shoes, the only foreign articles he could command. The women were clad in native costume, the *pau*, which consists of folds of native cloth about the hips, leaving the shoulders and waist quite exposed; a small number donned in addition a very feminine garment made of unbleached cotton, drawn close around the neck, which was quite becoming. Their hair was uncombed and their faces unwashed, but all of them were good natured. Our appearance furnished them much amusement; they laughed and jabbered, ran on in advance, and turned back to peer into our faces. I laughed and cried too, and hid my face for very shame.

We reached the Mission House at last and were ushered into Mr. Bingham's parlor, the walls of which were naked clapboards, except one side newly plastered with lime, made by burning coral stone from the reef. After being presented and welcomed, Mr. Bingham took his hymn-book and selected the hymn commencing:

"Kindred in Christ, for His dear sake."

Some of the company had sufficient self-control to join in the singing, but I was choking; I had made great efforts all the morning to be calm, and to control an over

flowing heart, but when we knelt around that family altar, I could no longer subdue my feelings.

A sumptuous dinner, consisting of fish, fowl, sweet potatoes, taro, cucumbers, bananas, watermelons and sweet water, from a mountain spring, had thoughtfully been provided by the good queen. As we had not tasted fruit or vegetables for months, it was difficult to satisfy our thoroughly *salted* appetites with fresh food.

Kaahumanu treated us like pet children, examined our eyes and hair, felt of our arms, criticised our dress, remarking the difference between our fashions and those of the pioneer ladies, who still wear short waists and tight sleeves, instead of the present long waists, full skirts, and leg-of-mutton sleeves. She says that one of our number must belong exclusively to her, live with her, teach her, make dresses for her, and instruct her women in all domestic matters, so that she can live as we do. As the choice is likely to fall on me, I am well pleased, for I have taken a great fancy to the old lady.

After dinner she reclined on a sofa and received various presents sent by friends in Boston. Mr. Bingham read letters from Messrs. Stewart, Loomis, and Ellis to her. She listened attentively, her tears flowed freely, and she could only articulate the native expression, "aloha ino" (love intense.) At four o'clock she said she was tired, and must go home; accordingly her retinue were summoned, some twenty in number, one bearing the "kahili" (a large feather fly brush and badge of rank), another an umbrella, still another her spittoon, etc., etc. She took each of us by the hand, and kissed each one in the Hawaiian style, by placing her nose against our cheeks and giving a sniff, as one would inhale the fragrance of flowers. After repeating various expressions of affectionate welcome and pleasure at the arrival of so

many fresh laborers, she seated her immense stateliness in her carriage, which is a light hand-cart, painted turquoise blue, spread with fine mats and several beautiful damask and velvet covered cushions. It was drawn by half a dozen stout men, who grasped the rope in pairs, and marched off as if proud of the royal burden. The old lady rides backward, with her feet hanging down behind the cart, which is certainly a safe, if not convenient, mode of travelling. As she moved away, waving her hand and smiling, Mrs. Bingham remarked, "We love her very much, although the time is fresh in our memories when she was very unlovely; if she deigned to extend her little finger to us, it was esteemed a mark of distinguished consideration." She was naturally haughty, and was then utterly regardless of the life and happiness of her subjects. What has wrought this great change in her disposition and manner? Let those who deny the efficiency of divine grace explain it, if they can.

Crowds of curious, but good natured people have thronged the premises the whole day, every door and pane of glass has been occupied with peering eyes, to get a glimpse of "the strangers." I have shaken hands with hundreds, and exchanged "aloha" with many more. We seem to be regarded as but little lower than the angels, and the implicit confidence of these people in our goodness is almost painful.

The chiefs of both sexes are fine looking, and move about with the easy grace of conscious superiority. Three or four of them, to whom we have been introduced to-day, visited England in the suite of King Liholiho, and were presented at the Court of St. James'. They dress well, in fine broadcloths and elegant silks, procured in exchange for sandal wood, which is taken to China and sold at an immense profit; fortunes have been made

by certain merchants in this traffic, (honorable, of course, especially when the hand or foot was used on the scales!) Our captain told us that some of the chiefs had paid eight hundred and a thousand dollars for mirrors not worth fifty.

March 31. *Nine o'clock in the evening.*

Is it enchantment? Can it be a reality that I am on dear mother earth again? A clean, snug little chamber all to ourselves! I can go to the door, and by the light of the moon see the brown village and the distant, dark green hills and valleys. Strange sounds meet the ear. The ocean's roar is exchanged for the lowing of cattle on the neighboring plains; the braying of donkeys, and the bleating of goats, and even the barking of dogs are music to me.

III.

When Incident—Servants—My Birthday Walk—Native Huts and Habits—Presents—Kaahumanu—Visiting the Sick—Lydia Namahana—Robert and Hakahii—Sea Captains—Call on Boki—What I Saw There.

April 1, 1828.

MRS. BINGHAM, who is in feeble health, allowed me the privilege of superintending the breakfast this morning, as I am eager to be useful in some way. I arose quite early, and hastened to the kitchen. Judge of my dismay on entering, to find a tall, stalwart native man, clad much in the style of John the Baptist in the wilderness, seated before the fire, frying taro. He was covered from head to foot with that unmentionable cutaneous malady common to filth and negligence. I stood aghast, in doubt whether to retire, or stand my ground like a brave woman, and was ready to cry with annoyance and vexation. The cook's wife was present, and her keener perceptions read my face; she ordered him out to make his toilet in foreign attire. I suppose travelers in southern Italy become accustomed to this statuesque style, but I am verdant enough to be shocked, and shall use all my influence to increase the sale and use of American cottons.

April 2, 1828.

This is my twenty-fourth birthday. Have received our baggage from the ship. Found time to take a stroll with my husband, and on our way visited the grass church, where Mr. Bingham preaches to an audience of

two thousand. The building is sadly dilapidated, the goats and cattle having browsed off the thatching, as high as they could reach. The strong trade-wind always blowing, sweeps through, tossing up the mats, which are spread upon the bare earth, and raising a disagreeable cloud of dust. The church is surrounded by a burying-ground, already thickly tenanted. I saw some small graves, where lay sleeping some of the children of the pioneer missionaries.

We looked into some of the native huts, primitive enough in point of furniture; mats, and tapa in one corner for a bed, a few calabashes in another, hardly suggesting a pantry, were all. Their principal article of food is "poi," a paste made of baked taro, which they eat with fish, often raw and seasoned with salt. It is the men's employment to cultivate and cook the taro. Housekeeping I should judge to be a very light affair, the manufacture of mats and tapa being almost the sole employment of the women. There are no cold winters to provide for; the continuous summer furnishes food with but little labor, so that the real wants of life are met, in a great degree, without experiencing the original curse pronounced upon the bread winner.

Such quantities of native presents as we have received to-day, from the natives coming in procession, each one bearing a gift! Among these were fish, lobsters, bananas, onions, fowls, eggs, and watermelons. In exchange, they expect us to shake hands and repeat "aloha." Their childish exclamations of delight are quite amusing—as, for example, when they request us to turn around, so that they may examine our dresses and hair behind.

They all express themselves delighted in having a physician among them, and one man said, on being introduced to Dr. Judd, "We are healed."

Her Royal Highness dined with us again to-day. She had been sending in nice things for the table all the morning, but did not seem quite satisfied, kindly inquiring if there was not something the strangers would like, not on the bill of fare. Mr. Bingham remarked, "You have been very thoughtful to-day." She looked him in the face, and asked with an arch smile, "Ah, is it to-day only?" No mother's tenderness could exceed hers toward Mr. and Mrs. Bingham. As she is an amazon in size, she could dandle any one of us in her lap, as she would a little child, which she often takes the liberty of doing.

April 3, 1828.

I visited some sick people with my husband—also called on Lydia Namahana, a sister of Kaahumanu. She is not so tall as her royal sister, but more fleshy. I should like to send home, as a curiosity, one of her green kid gaiters; her ankle measures eighteen inches without exaggeration. She is kind and good, and the wife of a man much younger than herself, Laaniu, one of the *savants* of the nation, who assists in translating the Bible. "Robert," a Cornwall youth, and his wife, Halakii, reside with these chiefs as teachers. They are exemplary Christians, and have been very useful. I am sorry to say that they are both quite ill of a fever.

Several captains from the whaling fleet have called on us to-day, who appear very pleasant and friendly. We have also received the compliments of Governor Boki (who was absent on our arrival), requesting an interview at his house at two o'clock P. M. We shook the wrinkles from our best dresses, arrayed ourselves as becomingly as possible, and at the appointed hour were on our way.

The sun was shining in its strength, and we had its full benefit in the half-mile walk to the Governor's house.

He met us at the gate and escorted us into the reception-room in a most courtly manner. There we found Madam Boki, sitting on a crimson-covered sofa, and dressed in a closely-fitting silk. She was surrounded by her maids of honor seated on mats, and all wrapped in mantles of gay-colored silk. I counted forty of them, all young, and some pretty. The room was spacious, and furnished with a center-table, chairs, a mahogany secretary, etc., all bespeaking a degree of taste and civilization. Madam arose as we were individually presented by name, and courtesied to each. Mr. Bingham was presented with the Governor's welcome in writing, which he interpreted to us as follows: "Love to you, Christian teachers, I am glad to meet you. It is doubtless God who sent you hither. I regret that I was at another place when you arrived.—NA BOKI."

I did not think he appeared very hearty in his welcome; time, however, will show. As this was our formal presentation to the magnates of the land, several speeches were made by those present. Kaahumanu presented hers in writing, as follows:

"Peace, good-will to you all, beloved kindred. This is my sentiment, love and joy in my heart towards God, for sending you here to help us. May we dwell together under the protecting shadow of his great salvation. May we all be saved by Jesus Christ.

"NA ELIZABETA KAAHUMANU."

Governor Boki and lady visited England in King Liholiho's suite in 1823. Kekuanaoa, husband of Kinau, a daughter of Kamehameha I., was also of the favored number received at Buckingham Palace. They would grace any court. The best-looking man in the group was a son of Kaumualii (Tamoree), King of Kauai. He

is a captive prince, as his father was conquered by Kamehameha I., and is not allowed to return to his native island. They all appear deeply interested on the subject of religion, and enter earnestly into every plan for the improvement of the people. The schools are under their especial patronage. To-day Mrs. Bingham gave us an account of her first presentation at the Hawaiian Court seven years ago. It was at the palace of Liholiho, before any of the natives had visited foreign countries. The palace was a thatched building, without floor or windows, and with a door but three feet high. His Majesty's apparel was a few yards of green silk wrapped about his person. Five queens stood at his right hand, two of them his half sisters. After the three foreign ladies had been introduced, the king remarked to the queen nearest him, "These foreigners wish to remain in our kingdom, and teach a new religion. One of their peculiar doctrines is, that a man must have but one wife. If they remain, I shall be obliged to send away four of you." "Let it be so," was the prompt answer, "let them remain, and be it as you say." This was Kamamalu, who accompanied the king to England two years after, and died in London, whom, being the favorite, he retained as his only wife. The other four are happily married to men of rank. They are all of immense proportions, weighing three or four hundred pounds each. I have been silly enough, in my younger days, to regret being so large; I am certainly in the right place now, where beauty is estimated strictly by pounds avoirdupois!

IV.

Laundry—English Consul's Lady and her Sister—Visiting the Sick—Kaahumanu—Ruth—Mrs. Bingham—Shirts and a Coat for Royalty—Letter to a Friend—Weddings in Church—Fees—Death of Robert and Wife.

THE natives are doing our six months' washing. I have been at the stream to see them. They sit in the water to the waist, soap the clothes, then pound them with smooth stones, managing to make them clean and white in cold water. But the texture of fine fabrics suffers in this rough process. Wood is scarce, being brought from the mountains, without the convenience of roads or beasts of burden.

Mrs. Charlton, wife of the English consul, and Mrs. Taylor, her sister, called on us to-day. They have been here but a short time, and are the only white ladies in the place, excepting those of the mission. Mrs. Taylor is particularly agreeable.

Visited again our sick friends, Robert and wife, and fear they are not long for earth, as they appear to be in the first stages of rapid consumption. On our way home we called on our friend, Kaahumanu, and found her reclining on a divan of clean mats, surrounded by her attendants, who had evidently been reading to her. She was wrapped in a "kihei" of blue silk velvet. This "kihei" is a very convenient article, answering for both wrapper and bed-spread, and is made of every variety of material. It is as easy here to take up one's bed and walk as it was in Judea.

Kaahumanu insists that we shall live with her; she will give us a house and servants, and I must be called by her name. We do not like to refuse, but the plan is thought to be impracticable, so we propose to have her come and live with us. She has a little adopted daughter, "Ruth,"* whom she wishes me to take and educate as my own. There is certainly before us enough, and we need wisdom to choose wisely between duties to be done, and what is to be left undone.

In conversation with Mr. and Mrs. Bingham to-day, they related some anecdotes of our good queen-mother in former times. Quite a number of chiefs embraced the new religion, were baptized, and received into the Church, before this haughty personage deigned to notice the foreign teachers at all. It was after a severe illness, during which she had been often visited, and the wants of her suffering body attended to, that her manner softened toward them. The native language had been reduced to writing; a little book containing the alphabet, a few lessons in reading, and some hymns had been printed. Mr. and Mrs. Bingham took a copy of this little book and called on her one evening, hoping and praying to find some avenue to her heart. They found her on her mats, stretched at full length, with a group of portly dames like herself, engaged in a game of cards, of which they were passionately fond. This was the first accomplishment learned from foreigners, and they could play cards well before they had books, paper, pen or pencil.

The teachers waited patiently until the game was finished; they then requested the attention of her ladyship

* Ruth Keelikolani is the daughter of Mataio Kekuanaoa and Pauahi formerly wife of Kamehameha II. On Pauahi's death Gov. Kekuanaoa married Kinau, from whom were born Lot and Alexander, who became Kings of Hawaii, and the Princess Victoria Kamamalu.

to a new "pepa" (paper), which they had brought her. (They called cards "pepa," the same word applying to books.) She turned toward them and asked, "What is it?" They gave her the little spelling-book in her own language, explaining how it could be made to talk to her, and some of the words it would speak. She listened, was deeply interested, pushed aside her cards, and was never known to resume them to the day of her death. She was but a few days in mastering the art of reading, when she sent orders for books, to supply all her household. She forsook her follies, and gave her entire energies to the support of schools, and in attendance upon the worship in the sanctuary.

It is no marvel that Mr. and Mrs. B—— looked thin and care-worn. Besides the care of her own family, Mrs. B—— boarded and taught English to a number of native and half-caste children and youth. Fancy her, in the midst of these cares, receiving an order from the king to make him a dozen shirts, with ruffled bosoms, followed by another for a whole suit of broadcloth! The shirts were a comparatively easy task, soon finished with the efficient aid of Mrs. Ruggles, who was a host in anything she undertook. But the coat, how were they going to manage that? They were glad to be valued for any accomplishment, and did not like to return the cloth, saying they had never learned to make coats. No, that would not do, so after mature deliberation, Mrs. Ruggles got an old coat, ripped it to pieces, and by it cut one out for His Majesty, making allowance for the larger mass of humanity that was to go into it. Their efforts were successful, and afforded entire satisfaction to the king, who was not yet a *connoisseur* in the fit of a coat.

A strange scene occurred in the church at the Wednesday lecture of this week. At the close of the usual

services, nineteen couples presented themselves at the matrimonial altar, arranged like a platoon of soldiers. As I can not understand much that is said, I must confine my observations to what I saw. One bride was clad in a calico dress, and a bonnet, procured probably from some half-caste lady, who has a foreign husband. The groom wore a blue cloth coat with bright buttons, which, I am informed, is the property of a fortunate holder who keeps it to rent to needy bridegrooms. This coat is always seen on these occasions. Most of the brides wore some article of foreign origin; one sported a night-cap scrupulously clean, but a little ragged, abstracted, perhaps, from the washing of some foreign lady. Another head was bandaged with a white handkerchief, tied on the top of the head in an immense fancy knot, over which was thrown a green veil, bringing down the knot quite on to her nose, almost blinding the poor thing. The scene was so ludicrous, I could hardly suppress laughter, especially at the response of "Aye, aye," pronounced loud enough to be heard all over the neighborhood.

There seems to be quite a *furore* for the marriage service. Mr. Richards, at Lahaina, says he has united six hundred couples in a few months. It is certainly a vast improvement upon the old system of living together like brutes, and it is to be hoped they will find it conducive to much greater happiness. The usual fee to the officiating clergyman is a few roots of kalo, or a fowl, a little bundle of onions, or some such article for the table, to the value of twenty-five cents. Cheap matrimony this, even counting the cost of outfit or for the rental of clothes.

I am grieved to record that our beloved friend Robert and his wife are both dead. We have just returned from

the funeral. Many of the chiefs were present, dressed in black, as a tribute of respect to the departed teachers, so lovely in their lives, and in death not divided. Such a Christian burial affords a striking contrast to former times, when teeth were knocked out, and indulgence granted to every excess of passion and violence. "What hath God wrought!" we may well exclaim.

V.

Assembling of Missionaries—A Sick Child—Fashions —The Children—Native School Exhibition—Dress —Progress—Rival Families of Chiefs—Principles.

April 22, 1828.

THE missionaries stationed on the different islands, Hawaii, Maui, and Kauai, have assembled here for the purpose of a general council, and to locate the newly arrived company.

These islands are separated by channels of fifty and a hundred miles in width, as boisterous often as the sea off Cape Horn. The voyages are made in small schooners, navigated by natives not over careful, and with no provisions but those carried by the passengers for themselves, who have to dispute for space with pigs and dogs, to say nothing of the dirty masses of humanity who crowd these vessels, voyaging profitlessly from island to island.

Mr. Artemas Bishop comes from Kailua in his desolation. We brought many parcels for Mrs. Bishop from her American friends, but she has gone where every want is satisfied. Her poor little boy also suffers from the loss of his mother, although provided with a native nurse, and has the care of Mrs. Ruggles. I have been bathing and dressing the little sufferer after his long voyage, weeping and wondering at the mystery of Divine wisdom in removing this young, loving mother's life, and leaving her helpless infant motherless.

We are enjoying a rare season of Christian intercourse

in this union with our missionary associates. Mrs. R——, of Lahaina, with her three sons, is a perfect sunbeam Most of the number look feeble and overworked.

I employ my leisure in trimming and repairing bonnets for the ladies, making dresses, and modernizing their wardrobes generally. Miss Ward makes herself very useful in this department. Fashions have changed somewhat in seven years. It is a great pleasure to do this, as it brightens the depressed, and diverts the minds of the desponding. Some of them have not spirit enough to smile.

My greatest pleasure is to gather the children about me, and tell them tales of the fatherland, of snow and ice, of great churches, of wide streets, of lofty trees, and broad, deep rivers.

April 28, 1828.

The grand annual exhibition of all the schools on this island is to be held at the church. Adults compose these schools, as the children are not yet tamed. The people come from each district in procession, headed by the principal man of the land (konohiki), all dressed in one uniform color of native cloth. One district would be clad in red, another in bright yellow, another in pure white, another in black or brown. The dress was one simple garment, the "kihei" for men, and the "pau" for women.

It is astonishing how so many have learned to read with so few books. They teach each other, making use of banana leaves, smooth stones, and the wet sand on the sea beach, as tablets. Some read equally well with the book upside down or sidewise, as four or five of them learn from the same book with one teacher, crowding around him as closely as possible.

The aged are fond of committing to memory, and repeating in concert. One school recited the one hundred and third Psalm, and another, Christ's Sermon on the Mount; another repeated the fifteenth chapter of John, and the Dukes of Esau and Edom. Their power of memory is wonderful, acquired, as I suppose, by the habit of committing and reciting traditions, and the genealogies of their kings and priests.

As yet, only portions of the Bible are translated and printed. These are demanded in sheets still wet from the press. Kaahumanu admires those chapters in Paul's epistles, where he greets his disciples by name; she says, "Paul had a great many friends."

The children are considered bright, but too wild to be brought into the schools. We intend, however, to try them very soon.

Among the Hawaiian aristocracy there are two rival families, like the houses of York and Lancaster. Governor Boki represents the claims of one, and our good queen the other. Both claim the guardianship of the young king, Kauikeaouli, and are equally anxious for paramount influence, but with widely different views. The governor has visited foreign lands. He is ambitious to gain the influence of the resident foreign traders, and the captains of ships to his party. He favors the old order of things, and is very oppressive in his exactions from the common people, but utterly regardless of the public interests in his extravagant expenditures. His levy of sandal-wood has kept the poor people in the mountains for months together, cutting it without food or shelter, other than that afforded by the forests.

Kaahumanu, on the other hand, is anxious to lighten the burdens of the people. She makes frequent tours around the islands, assembling them at each hamlet, ex

horting them to forsake every heathen custom, learn to read, and listen to the teachings of God's word and law. She watches the young king with the solicitude of a tender mother, weeping and rejoicing alternately, as he yields to, or resists, temptation to wrong-doing.

VI.

Visit to Lahaina—Yachting—Native Navigators—Lahaina—The King and Princess—Language.

LAHAINA, *June*, 1828.

AT the close of the general meeting, we accompanied our friends to this place, to spend some weeks. The channel is seventy miles wide, and we were four days in making the distance, beating up against the strong trade-winds.

When the ladies in Clinton, N. Y., were preparing my outfit, good old Mrs. T—— suggested a blue calico and some checked aprons. She said she heard I was expecting to spend a good deal of my time in visiting the different islands, but should think that I would find it my duty to stay at home and work. Dear old soul, how I wish she could know something of the *pleasure* of these voyages! They are made in a little schooner, stowed to its utmost capacity with men, women, and children, lumber, poi, poultry, horses, horned cattle, pet pigs and dogs, and all manner of creeping things; and we are utterly prostrated and helpless, with that merciless malady, which falls on all alike, master and servant, the *mal de mer*.

The native navigators often go to sleep even at the helm, though the trade-wind may blow a gale. The sea is often very rough, and then again we are under a lee shore, in a dead calm, with the sails flapping and the schooner pitching in the trough of the sea, with enough

violence to take the masts out of her, not to say the breath out of our bodies. If I had ever dreamed of "yachting by moonlight among the Isles of the Pacific," one trip has dispelled the illusion forever.

Lahaina is richer in tropical vegetation than Honolulu. Beautiful trees and flowering shrubs, with the rich green patches of kalo, grow down to the water's edge. The village is shut in by mountains, which gives one a pent-up and prison-like feeling.

We had the honor, to-day, of an introduction to the young king, who is living here. He has just returned from his first visit to the greatest natural wonder in his kingdom, the volcano of Kilauea. He was dressed like a midshipman, in a blue jacket and white pantaloons, and a straw hat. He is nearly fifteen. He seemed much pleased when told that ten white lady teachers were added to his kingdom. He noticed my calico dress with shaded stripes, red and brown, and said the color was like the "ohai" flowers (Pride of Barbadoes), and he sent out one of the servants to make a wreath of those flowers, which he presented to me. I felt obliged to wear it at dinner, although it was not to my taste, for I had given away all my muslins, ribbons, and embroideries when I became a missionary; but now, to my surprise, I find people are estimated somewhat by the exterior. The chiefs and higher class of natives, who are anxious to improve in the art of dress, are keen observers.

The young princess, Nahienaena, is more sprightly than her royal brother. They both have excellent voices, and are the patrons of large singing schools.

The Hawaiian alphabet, as written by the missionaries, contains but twelve letters. The vowels, except u (oo) are pronounced the same as in French and Italian Neither syllables nor words ever end in a consonant.

Words are almost spelled in pronouncing them—a-ló-ha, O-á-hu, for example. The orthography of the language is very simple, and to learn to read and write it is the work of a few days only.

The grammatical construction is more difficult. There is properly no verb "to be" in the language. The pronouns are numerous and complicated, there being forms for the dual and also forms for excluding or including the person addressed. L and R, K and T, are used interchangeably; it is said that a native can distinguish no difference between "kalo" and "taro," or "Waikiki" and "Waititi." If the Italian is the language of the gods, the French of diplomacy, and the English of business men, we may add that the Polynesian is the dialect of little children. It is easier to say "hele mai," than "come here," and "i wai," than "give me water." Nouns are placed before adjectives, as, "pua ala," "flower fragrant." Verbs are also placed at the beginning of a sentence, as, "Plucked I the flower fragrant." Some words are very expressive, for which we have no equivalent in English, as "pilikia," which signifies "to be in a tight place," or "difficulty." "Hoomanawanui" signifies "to bear patiently—to persevere."

There are great deficiencies also, especially in abstract terms. There is no word for "nature," or "virtue," or "enemy," or "gratitude," or "color." "Pono" means "goodness" in general, but nothing in particular. So also "aloha" signifies "love," "affection," "good-will," and may perhaps be twisted into "thank you," or "gratitude." The translators use the original Hebrew words in some cases, where the Hawaiian is deficient, as "berita" for "covenant."

As we studied the language during the voyage, we are able to understand common conversation, and we intend to begin teaching school on our return to Honolulu

VII.

Visit to Wailuku—Chair Bearers—Our Host—Return over the Mountains—Booths—Bird Catchers and Feather Tax—July 4th.

July, 1828.

I HAVE just returned from my first mountain excursion, and we have thus spent our first "glorious Fourth" in the Sandwich Isles.

We have just returned from a visit to a district on the windward side of the island. Wailuku (water of devastation) is the name of the river, and the valley through which it runs. It is a fertile and populous region.

Auwae, the chief and landlord, sent an invitation to Mr. and Mrs. Richards to visit him, and to bring the strangers with them. We accordingly left Lahaina in a double canoe, furnished and manned by Hoapili, the noble old Governor of Maui, who was one of the coadjutors of the conqueror, Kamehameha I. We passed around the base of the mountain which bounds Lahaina on one side, running down to the sea, and entered a bay, which, with a narrow, low isthmus, divides East from West Maui, both divisions of the island shooting up into mountains. The mountain on the east division is Haleakala (house of the sun), and is the largest crater in the world, but is not in action. Its sides, consisting of thousands of acres of fertile land, slope to the sea, and are well adapted to tillage.

We landed at the head of the bay, where chairs suspended at the middle of long poles had been provided,

and stout men for bearers, to carry the ladies the remaining ten miles. I hesitated to lay such a burden upon men's shoulders and walked along, when the bearers began to laugh and took up one, the largest of their number, into the chair and ran on with him. When they had set him down, they said: "There, you see our strength, you will be no weight at all." I accordingly mounted the chair, the men elevated their horizontal poles to their shoulders, and I, having soon got the better of my scruples, had a charming ride. Mrs. R—— was used to it, and reached the village first.

We were most hospitably welcomed by the host and hostess. The house was large, well furnished with mats and kapa. Screens of furniture calico divided off the bed-rooms. Everything was extremely neat, but the beds—merely mats spread over planks of the hardest wood, rough hewn—were most uncomfortable. Our wants in every other respect were anticipated with such real politeness and refinement as surprised me, in a people who have had no intercourse with the civilization of white people.

Auwae was in the train of the great conqueror, one of his *savants*, and keeps in memory genealogies, traditions, and ancient lore. He is an astronomer and botanist. He placed two long rows of stones to show how they classified plants in sexes, and gave us the native names for each. He seems to be a genuine encyclopedia of Hawaiian science.

Mr. Richards preached several times during our visit of two days, to large and attentive congregations, besides marrying several couples.

The evening before we left, our host proposed to take us home over the mountains, instead of the canoe route, to which we assented, as offering a little adventure. A

company of twenty-five athletic men, trained to bird-catching on the beetling crags of these mountains, were called out. Their toe and finger nails, never cut, grow like claws. Their sole business is to catch the little black birds called the *oo*, each producing a few yellow feathers under the wings. When these are plucked, the bird is set at liberty, to be caught and plundered again at some future time. Five feathers constitute a tax, and are equivalent to one dollar in money. These feathers are wrought into cloaks, capes, wreaths, and "kahilis," to bedeck royalty. The feathers, time, and labor consumed in making a cloak, now in possession of the young king, have been estimated as amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars.

But to return to our excursion. Our native host and hostess were to go with us to the summit, where booths would be prepared for us in which to spend a night. We breakfasted, had family worship, and started early, and followed up the river as it winds along the mountain gorge. The way grew rugged and more difficult as we ascended, now leading over almost inaccessible defiles, and up almost insurmountable heights; and now along the ridge of precipices scarcely wide enough for foothold, but we were carefully guarded and borne along by our bold and unflinching guides. Up, up, on, on, we flew rather than walked, until our heads became giddy and our feet weary, when, discovering our tottering steps, they would snatch us up and carry us along as though we were children.

We were glad to emerge from this wild and rugged scenery to a broad plateau—cool, secluded, and beautiful. Our booths had been covered with the broad, smooth "ki" leaves, so closely woven together as to exclude rain and wind. Piles of dry fern were placed for

beds, over which were spread mats and "kapa," making a couch fit for a king.

We lay down weary enough, and slept until daybreak, when we were awakened by the birds all around us, chanting a full chorus, quite unconscious of the presence of their persecutors. The sun came up from his ocean bed in full glory; the sea was visible on both sides; a splendid cluster of giant forest trees formed the background and concealed from view the frightful precipice we were to descend. Auwae said this was an old battle-ground, and a scene of terrible slaughter only a few years ago.

We kindled a gipsy fire, made tea, ate our breakfast, sung a hymn, had prayers, and then parted with our dear friends, who returned to Wailuku, after bidding the guides see us safely down the mountains to our home in Lahaina. The descent was almost perpendicular, and we swung down from branch to branch among the trees, our only security being the faithful bird-catchers, who placed our feet for us and guarded each step. We arrived home at nightfall, just in time for a refreshing cup of tea, prepared by our beloved and thoughtful sister, Miss Ogden.

Thus we spent the Fourth of July, 1828, in the kingdom of the Kamehamehas.

VIII.

The House—Commencing School—The Weather—Short Allowance—Foraging—Relief.

HONOLULU, *August*, 1828.

HOUSEKEEPING at last in two little rooms and a chamber, under the same roof with the Binghams! The clapboards are bare and admit quantities of dust which the trade-winds bring in such fearful clouds as to suggest the fate of Pompeii. We have three chairs, a table, a bedstead, and a nice little secretary. Dr. Judd has converted the round-topped wooden trunk that Uncle E—— made for me into a safe for our food, by placing it on stilts set in pans of tar water, which keeps out roaches and ants. Mrs. Bingham kindly allows me to have one of her trained servants, who does the washing and assists in the kitchen.

We have commenced a school for native women, which already numbers forty-five, including Kaahumanu, Kinau, Namehana, and several of their attendants. They are docile and very anxious to learn. I devote two hours a day teaching them to write on paper; Mrs. B—— spends two hours more in giving them lessons on the slate, and teaching them how to divide words and sentences. Their preference is to join words together in continuous lines across the page, without stops or marks. Miss Ward superintends the sewing department. Our school-house has no floor nor desks, the only substitute for the latter being a long board, supported by cross-

trees, for the writers. A flag is raised to signal the hour for school; it came from a wrecked ship, the *Superb*, and bears the name in white letters on a red ground. "Superb school mistresses," Mr. Bingham calls us.

I can not begin to say how happy I am to be here, and how I love to work for this interesting people. I little thought when teaching children in the State of New York what that discipline was preparing me for. I was but sixteen when I made my *début* as school-teacher. I wonder if the little brown school-house still stands at the place where three ways meet? . . . .

Opportunities for sending letters to the United States occur only in the Fall season, when whale-ships are returning home around Cape Horn. We have had a very hot summer, no rain, the earth parched, and clouds of dust blowing day after day. I have emptied quarts of it from my bed cover at night, and it pours in so thickly that in a few minutes it is impossible to distinguish the color of the different articles of furniture.

Our yearly supply of sugar, flour, and other stores, sent from Boston in a whale-ship, was carried by mistake to the Japan whaling grounds, consequently we have been on short allowance. The drought almost produced a famine in the vegetable kingdom. Our good queen-mother has been often absent, and we have missed her presents of kalo, fish, and other good things. The poor cattle have almost starved, and of course our supply of milk has failed.

One morning this week was hot and oppressive; such as occur in your "dog days." A missionary sister was with me, who had been watching all night with her sick babe, and her husband absent on an exploring tour, while mine was visiting the sick. We sat down to our little breakfast-table spread with care, and offered to our crav-

ing appetites sweet potatoes and salt beef, the latter spoiled by its long voyage around Cape Horn, and a still longer stay in the mission depository. We sent it from the table, and tried to swallow some potatoes, but they were poor, watery things, more like squash than potatoes. The effort was useless. What if I did think of the well-stored pantries and the nice little delicacies my friends in America would offer me if they could?—was it wicked? Were we like the naughty Israelites, longing for the flesh-pots of Egypt? We wiped away our tears as quickly as we could. I said to my friend: "This will never do; you must have a breakfast. I have four shillings which were in my purse when I left Boston. I will take them and send down to the beef market. I know it is against the rule, and would be thought a bad precedent; we will say nothing about it. Meanwhile, let us untie the little parcel of flour, trusting in Providence to provide more." The servant returned with about a pound and a half of fresh beef for fifty cents! We broiled it, and with our hot cake made a delicious meal, then resumed our duties with cheerfulness and gratitude.

In the afternoon of the same day our friend Captain Bunker, of the *Zone*, arrived, and gave us a barrel of flour and several other articles. I do not complain. Our friends in Boston are not to blame that we are short of supplies, as they have no regular means of conveyance; and the whalers, who kindly offer to bring our stores without remuneration, can not be expected to go out of their way to land them.

IX.

NEWS FROM HOME.

Arrival of the "Honqua"—Letters and Supplies—Reflections—Letter to Mrs. C.—Mother, etc.—Native Mothers and Children—Infanticide—One Rescued.

THE *Honqua* has arrived with letters, papers, and boxes. We are in a fever of excitement. How kind our friends are; how pleasant to have so many long letters containing assurances of love unabated; how thoughtful of our comfort to send so many nice things, just what we need! We opened the flour, the crackers, dried fruit, cheese, lard, all put up by dear father and mother Judd; and here are chairs, a whole dozen, a new bureau and book-case, and a table that will stand alone—all provided by our kind relatives and friends in Oneida County. What shall we do with so much furniture? I will make a tea-party for Mr. and Mrs. Bingham the first thing. Upai will help me to make biscuit and doughnuts and stem some dried fruit, then we will sit down together at our new table, read our letters, and talk over all the news from our dear native land. After tea we will open our boxes, and examine the treasures sent us from our friends at home. No lady shopping on Broadway with a full purse, can feel half the delight we experience in opening a box from home.

"Touched by the magic hand of those we love,
A trifle does of consequence appear;
A blade of grass, a pin, a glove,
A scrap of paper, does become most dear."

It is but natural that with the first impulses of maternal love we should turn our thoughts more directly to native mothers and children. A few days ago we called our female church-members together, and requested those who had children to bring them. A large number assembled, our good queen-mother heading the list, although she has no children of her own. She brought little Ruth, an adopted daughter. Kinau presented her first-born, Prince David Kamehameha, a boy fine enough for any mother not of the seed royal to glory in. Close beside her sits the wife of our deacon, Ehu, with three young children. Several mothers presented their offspring, with the pride of old Roman matrons. We counted the number of those who had living children, and then requested those who had none to rise. The scene that followed I can never forget. Why are you childless? we inquired. Very few had lost children by a natural death. One woman replied in tears, holding out her hands: "These must answer the question. I have been the mother of eight children, but with these hands I buried them alive, one after another, that I might follow my pleasures, and avoid growing old. Oh, if I had but one of them back again to comfort me now! If tears and penitence could restore the dead!" She was followed by others, making the same sad confessions of burying alive, of strangling, of smothering, until sobs and tears filled the house.

"Oh," said one, "you have little idea of our heartless depravity, before we had the Word of God. We thought only of preserving our youth and beauty, following the train of our king and chiefs, singing, dancing, and being merry. When old, we expected to be cast aside, and being neglected, to starve and die, and we only cared for the present pleasures. Such was our darkness."

The scene was painful. We tried to say a few words of consolation and advice, and to commend them to God in prayer. We made arrangements to meet them regularly once a month for instruction in maternal and domestic duties, and returned to our own happy Christian homes, feeling that we never before realized how much we owe to the Gospel.

After my return I related to Pali, my native woman, some of the fearful disclosures made at the meeting. "My mother had ten children," said she; "my brother, now with you, and myself, are all that escaped death at her hands. This brother was buried too, but I loved him very much, and determined to save him, if I could. I watched my mother, and saw where she buried him. As soon as she went away, I ran and dug him up. He was not dead. I ran away many miles with him, and kept him hid with some friends a long time. My mother heard of us, and tried to get us back, but I kept going from one place to another, and after a while she died. I have always taken care of him until now."

X.

Arrival of the "Vincennes"—C. S. Stewart—The "Dolphin"—Laws—King's Reception of Captain Finch—Presents—Behind the Curtain—A Tea Party.

IT is impossible to describe how happy we were made by a visit of the U. S. sloop-of-war *Vincennes*, Captain Finch. It brought to us again the Rev. C. S. Stewart, chaplain, who was formerly connected with this Mission, as will be remembered. He was one of the very last to whom I gave the parting hand, when we sailed out of Boston harbor, and I need not say that he received a warm welcome from us.

The visit of the *Dolphin*, Captain Percival, which did not bear the olive branch, was still fresh in the minds of the native community. The unprovoked attack upon the houses and persons of the defenceless missionaries, was approved by some of the foreigners already gathered in our little metropolis, with some honorable exceptions, but, I am sorry to say, the foreign officials were not of this excepted number. They treat the magnates of the land with rudeness and indignity. They get up a tempest of words upon the slightest pretext, and threaten our timid and peace-loving rulers with vengeance and extermination.

As yet, you must know, our people have no printed code of laws, other than the Decalogue, which Kaahumanu thinks can not be improved. Public ordinances are made known by a town crier, who patrols the high-

ways at the quiet hour of twilight, and pours forth royal edicts with stentorian voice.

The visit of Captain Finch was opportune. He brought friendly communications from his Government, which is very encouraging to the chiefs, who are anxious to do their duty, though ignorant of foreign usages.

The king gave a reception at his large grass palace, to which all the foreigners and missionaries were invited, to meet Captain Finch and his officers. The band of music from the ship was in attendance, and as the king, the chiefs, the foreign officials, and the officers, were in full uniform, there being plenty of room in the immense building, it was a fine and delightful affair. A pair of large globes, a number of books, maps, and engravings, were presented to the king, Kaahumanu, and other chiefs. As Kuakini, the Governor of Hawaii, is the only one of the chiefs who reads English, he received a very handsome quarto Bible. The message from the President of the United States was cordially received and responded to, with the grateful thanks of the chiefs. The interview passed off in the most agreeable manner, and our rulers, both men and women, appeared to the best possible advantage. We were glad when it was over, as we are always a little anxious lest some blunder should be committed.

During the stay of the ship Mrs. Bingham made a tea-party for the officers and chiefs, and had quite a house full. The time passed insensibly until nine o'clock, when the feast of reason was suddenly interrupted by a sound something between a whistle and the groan of a blacksmith's bellows. It was an announcement that our queen, Kaahumanu, was tired and must go home. She arose (I never saw her look so tall), gathered up the ample folds of her black silk dress, even to the very waist,

holding a portion on each arm, and exposing an undergarment of beautiful pink satin. Thus she stood in her stateliness, while we all gathered around to shake hands and bid her good-night. We laughed a little, at her expense, after she had gone, but loved her none the less for all that. . . . .

XI.

The New Church—Preparations for the Dedication —A Dilemma.

HONOLULU, *November*, 1829.

AFTER many months of hard labor our new thatched church is completed. Several hundred men at a time have been engaged in putting on the thatch under the superintendence of Governor Boki, who has set overseers, sword in hand, at the different portions of the work. The men chatter while at work like so many meadow larks, and their voices are sufficiently confused to remind one of what the scene might have been at Babel's tower. The church has a neat pulpit, of native mahogany (koa), a glazed window behind, draped with crimson damask, furnished by Kaahumanu. Upholstering is a new business. We had some idea of festoons, but knew not how to arrange them, so as to produce the proper effect, for we were without patterns and had no one to teach us. The young king was anxious to have it as grand as possible, as it was his chapel. We did our best, and what more is required of mortals?

The king, his royal sister, and a large number of the chiefs from the other islands were present at the dedication. Kaahumanu made a very interesting address to the people, and, to the surprise of all present, the king followed with a speech and a prayer. He not only dedicated the house to the worship of the only living and

true God, but solemnly, then and there, consecrated his kingdom to the Lord Jesus Christ. The princess and her maids of honor led the choir, and the chant, "O come let us sing unto the Lord," which was sung in excellent taste. Governor Boki made a great display of soldiers dressed in new suits, purchased for the occasion, augmenting the public debt some thousands of dollars. He appeared restless and ill at ease.

I record another anecdote of Kaahumanu; the incident occurred a few weeks before the dedication. Mrs. Bingham, Miss Ward, and myself were spending the day with her at her rustic country-seat in Manoa valley. As we were seated at our sewing, Kaahumanu very kindly inquired what we thought of wearing at the dedication of the new church. Without waiting for an answer, she added: "It is my wish that we dress alike; I have made a selection that pleases me, and it only waits your approval." She ordered the woman in waiting to bring in the material; it was heavy satin, striped pink, white, and blue.

She fixed her scrutinizing eyes upon us as we examined and commented upon it in our own language. As we hesitated in the approval, "What fault has it?" she hastily inquired. I replied, "No fault; it is very beautiful for you who are a queen, but we are missionaries, supported by the churches and the earnings of the poor, and such expensive material is not suitable for us." "*I* give it to you," she replied, "not the church, nor the poor." "Foreigners will be present," we said, "who will perhaps make ill-natured remarks." "Foreigners!" said she, "do you mean those in town who tear off calico? (meaning the salesmen in the shops). What do you care for their opinions? It does not concern them; you should not heed what they say." We declined still fur-

ther the acceptance, as we should not ourselves feel comfortable in such unaccustomed attire. She looked disappointed and displeased, and ordered the woman to put it out of sight, adding, "If it is not proper for good people to wear good things, I do not know what they are made for." We were sorry to oppose her wishes, and she was taciturn all the afternoon. As we were about to take leave at evening, she resumed her cheerful manner, and asked what we would like to wear on the forthcoming occasion. We thanked her, and said we would like to make something very handsome for her, but we should prefer black silk to anything else for ourselves. She made no reply, but bade us an affectionate good-night. The next morning we received two rolls of black silk, with an order to make her dress exactly like ours.

XII.

Visit to Hawaii—Health Station—Captains Rice and Smith—Captain Cook's Heart—His Death—Birth-place of Obookaiah—The Heiau—Kapiolani—Kawaihae—John Young—Waimea—Waipio.

KAAWALOA, HAWAII.

AS the health of some of the pioneer missionaries appears to be sinking from the effects of this warm climate, the brethren in council decided to send a committee to explore the bracing regions on the slopes of these snow-clad mountains, and seek for a health station. Dr. Judd was one of that committee, so I was obliged to leave my pleasant school and home, and come to this place, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Ruggles, who are too poorly to live alone. I remain with Mrs. Ruggles and the children, while Mr. R. and Dr. Judd make their explorations, which will occupy some weeks.

We took passage from Honolulu with Captain Rice, in the whaleship *Superior*, of New London, and were eleven days making the passage. Captain James Smith, of the *Phœnix*, was in company. We encountered a severe storm, and took three whales, one of which, captured by Captain Smith, and nearly as long as his ship, was unfortunately lost during the gale.

Kealakekua is an historical spot. I write this in sight of the very rock where the celebrated Captain Cook was killed, and I have seen the man who *ate his heart*. He stole it from a tree, supposing it to be a swine's heart

hung there to dry, and was horrified when he discovered the truth. The Sandwich Islanders never were cannibals. This made him famous, and he is always spoken of as the man who ate Lono's heart. Here I have made the acquaintance of the old queen, Kekupuohi, wife of Kalaniopuu. She was close to Captain Cook when he fell, following her royal husband, whom the English were enticing on board the ship, to be detained as a hostage until a stolen boat should be restored. She says the natives had supposed that Captain Cook was their old god Lono, returned to visit them. They paid him divine honors, which he must well have understood. Men were sent from the ship, who cut down the fences around their temple. Women visited the ship in great numbers, and husbands grew jealous, and began to distrust these new divinities. A young chief was killed by a shot from one of the ships, while passing in his canoe. There was a great uproar among the people, and when they saw their king about stepping into the boat with Captain Cook, an old warrior said, "I do not believe he is a god. I will prick him with my spear, and if he cries out I shall know he is not." He struck him in the back, Cook uttered a cry, the chief gave another thrust, and the great navigator proved to be mortal. These facts were gathered from an eye-witness, who expressed the deepest regret at the sad tragedy.

Just across the bay is the birth-place of Obookaiah, the first native convert to Christianity. He went to America in a whaleship, was taken up and cared for by some benevolent people, who founded the Cornwall school.

It was during this residence at Kaawaloa that we visited the old "heiau," or temple, at Hoonaunau, in company with Naihe and Kapiolani. It was then sur-

rounded by an enclosure of hideous idols carved in wood, and no woman had ever been allowed to enter its consecrated precincts. Our heroic Kapiolani led the way, and we entered the enclosure. It was a sickening scene that met our eyes. The dead bodies of chiefs were placed around the room in a sitting posture, the unsightly skeletons mostly concealed in folds of kapa, or rich silk. The blood-stained altar was there, where human victims had been immolated to idol gods. Fragments of offerings were strewed about. Kapiolani was much affected and wept, but her husband was stern and silent. I thought he was not quite rid of the old superstition in regard to women.

A few months after our visit Kaahumanu came and ordered all the bones buried, and the house and fence entirely demolished. She gave some of the timber, which was spear-wood (kauwila), to the missionaries, and told them to make it into canes and contribution boxes, to send to their friends.

When Mr. Ruggles and Dr. Judd returned, having selected a locality for the health station, Mr. and Mrs. Ruggles, Miss Ward, and ourselves embarked in canoes for Kawaihae. Here we were entertained by old John Young, an English runaway sailor, who had been many years on the islands, and had assisted Kamehameha in his conquests. He had married a native woman of rank, has a fine family of sons and daughters, and is considered a chief. He lived in a dirty adobe house, adorned with old rusty muskets, swords, bayonets, and cartridge boxes. He gave us a supper of goat's meat and fried taro, served on old pewter plates, which I was unfortunate to see his servant wipe on his red flannel shirt in lieu of a napkin. I was surprised to see how imperfectly Mr. Young spoke the native language. We

were sent up a rickety flight of stairs to sleep. I was afraid, and requested Dr. Judd to look around the room carefully for concealed dangers, and he was heartless enough to laugh at me. Sleep was out of the question; I was afraid of the wind, which sometimes sweeps down the gorge of the mountain, and got up at midnight, and went down to the grass house of Mrs. Young, which was neat and comfortable. She is a noble woman. She lives in native style; one of the sons is with the king, and the daughters are in the train of the princess.

The health station is selected at Waimea, twelve miles inland from the bay. The road to it is a foot-path, rough, rugged, and ascending about two thousand feet above the level of the sea. We lodged in a dilapidated school-house, without windows or doors, for two months, while our houses were building. This work, performed by the several districts under the direction of the head-man, had been ordered by Kaahumanu. The weather was cold, and a "Scotch mist," penetrating and disagreeable, came over the hills and plains every evening. The site chosen was on the table-land, at the foot of Mauna Kea, covered with thousands of wild cattle.

Mr. Ruggles preached to the people every Sunday in a neighboring grove, while we all taught a daily school. We climbed the hills and gathered wild strawberries, which cover acres of ground, ate fresh beef, and grew strong. One day we thought we would go home with Haa, the head-man of the valley of Waipio, who was erecting one of the houses, and had often invited us. It was a long walk through a thickly tangled forest, muddy with frequent rains and the trampling of the wild cattle. A few miles brought us out of the forest, where the sun and daylight shone once more, and the valley lay before us enclosed on three sides by almost perpen-

dicular precipices, opening only to the sea. The view was perfectly enchanting. A mountain stream at the head of the valley poured down the whole distance in a beautiful waterfall. We could see it winding its way to the ocean, looking very much like a strip of white ribbon.

The natives moving about in the valley seemed of Lilliputian size. The place of descent was covered with grass. Little sledges, made of long, green leaves fastened together, were prepared for us, and Haa said we must trust to him, if we would go down safely. Tall, strong men took sledges on both sides of us, and down we slid, clinging to the long, tough grass, to check our velocity. This was a fearful ride, and it seemed as if we must inevitably drop into a pond of water at the bottom.

When we reached the thatched hut of our host, I found my fingers much swollen in the useless effort to lessen the speed of the descent.

Haa gave us a supper of fresh fish and kalo, and we lay down on clean beds of native kapa. During the night a storm of rain, with thunder and lightning, rolled over the valley, and I thought of the slippery precipices to be climbed next day, and wondered what induced us to commit such a folly as to go down into such a prison.

With the dawn of day we aroused our friend, and commenced the toilsome ascent. The natives led us out by a different way, by a stony path, and in an hour and a half we were up the two thousand feet and on the road to our home, a little wiser, perhaps, for the experience. Old Haa and many more of his Christian fellow-laborers have long since entered into their rest.

XIII.

Death of Kaahumanu—The New Testament—Incidents—Kinau, as Kaahumanu II.—The East India Squadron.

IT was not many months after our return to Honolulu, before our beloved friend, Kaahumanu, having completed her last tour around the islands, returned home broken in health, and evidently hastening to the end of her pilgrimage, more humble, more lovely, more affectionate than ever. Every breath was prayer or praise to God, for what He was doing for her people. She had been permitted to see them turning to the Lord, and professing their faith in the Redeemer by thousands, as in the day of Pentecost. Kinau, her niece and successor, had publicly declared herself on the Lord's side; while the king was docile and temperate.

Kaahumanu wished to go to her favorite retreat in the secluded valley of Manoa, and requested Dr. Judd and myself to accompany her. Here a bed of sweet scented *maile* and leaves of ginger was prepared, over which was spread a covering of velvet, and on this she laid herself down to die. Her strength failed daily. She was gentle as a lamb, and treated her attendants with great tenderness. She would say to her waiting-women, "Do sit down; you are very tired; I make you weary."

Mr. Bingham, who was hurrying the New Testament through the press, had a copy finished and bound in red morocco, with her name in gilt letters embossed on the

cover. When it was handed to her, she looked it through carefully, from Matthew to Revelation, to satisfy herself that it was all there, then she wrapped it in her handkerchief, and laid it upon her bosom, clasped both hands over it, and closed her eyes in a sweet slumber, as though every wish of her heart was gratified.

Just at evening she awoke and inquired for her teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Bingham, who had just arrived, and who had come to her bedside. "I am going," said she, "where the mansions are ready." Mr. Bingham replied, "Lean on the Beloved through the waters of Jordan." "Yes," she answered, faintly, "I shall go to Him and be comforted." The swift-winged messenger hasted on his errand and with a faint "aloha," a gentle pressure of the hand, the eyelids closed, and the throbbings of that affectionate heart were stilled forever.

A holy hush, a profound silence followed. The heart-stricken band knelt by the side of the couch of the dead, and sought consolation for their great sorrow in the bosom of an Almighty Friend. The little valley was filled with temporary lodges, and throngs of her people were listening for the sad announcement. The tidings of her death passed from lip to lip in a few moments, and the voices of the multitude were lifted up in one doleful wail, that echoed from the hills and mountains' sides with appalling reverberations.

After a brief indulgence in this expression of grief, practiced in all Polynesia, Governor Adams, brother of the deceased, issued an order for silence, and requested Mr. Bingham to offer prayer. As the people were spread over the space of a square mile, the almost immediate stillness that prevailed seemed magical and mysterious.

Mr. Bingham stood in the cottage door. With uplifted hands and a distinct voice, he commended the in-

fant nation, bereaved of its most valuable chieftain and ruler, to Israel's God. He prayed that her fallen mantle might rest on the shoulders of some Elisha, and that the lonely band, deprived of the support and encouragement of her, on whom they were accustomed to lean with so much confidence, might turn with stronger purpose, and take hold of the everlasting strength in this hour of darkness and trial.

June 5, 1832, was an epoch in the nation's history, although the death of the Queen Regent was not followed by any outbreak or disorder. Kinau, eldest daughter of Kamehameha I., was publicly recognized as her lawful heir and successor, with the title of Kaahumanu II. She was sedate, courteous, and reliable, a little haughty in her deportment toward strangers, but a loving, exemplary wife, a tender mother, and a warm-hearted, unwavering friend.

At about this time the daily *verse system* was introduced, and twenty thousand learners committed to memory and recited the same text in the daily morning prayer-meeting. The Word of God grew mightily, and converts to the Christian faith multiplied like drops of morning dew.

During this summer the United States frigate *Potomac*, Commodore Downs, touched at Honolulu on her homeward voyage from the East Indies, where she had been sent at an expense of a hundred thousand dollars to chastise the inhabitants of Quallabattoo, for an outrage committed upon an American merchantman. The commodore and his son, eight years old, under the care of Mr. Greer, the chaplain, spent much of their time in the missionary families while the ship remained in port.

Chiefs, foreigners, and missionaries were invited on board together to spend the day, and were delightfully

entertained, being shown every part of the noble vessel. A fine band discoursed sweet music; a collation was spread, and to cap the climax a salute was fired.

A subscription of two hundred dollars was made by the officers and men toward the purchase of a bell for the native church, which was a munificent donation and gratefully acknowledged.

XIV.

Changes for the Worse, 1832—Kaomi--Kinau--Boki in 1829—His Departure—Madam Boki—A Revolution—A Settlement—Governor Adams—Reverena John Diell, Seamen's Chaplain.

TOWARD the close of the year 1832, the political horizon clouded over, and the wisest of us were not able to foretell where and how the storm would burst.

The young king (Kamehameha III.) threw off the restraint of his elders, and abandoned himself to intemperance and debauchery. He gathered around his person the profligate and licentious, and delegated his royal authority to Kaomi, a young man of Tahitian descent shrewd and unprincipled. Under the patronage of this "grafted king" (ke 'lii kui), as the people styled him, distilleries were established in various places. Vile heathen songs, games, and shameless dances, which had gone out of use, were revived. Rum and wretchedness became rampant; and the quiet of our lovely dells and valleys was disturbed with bacchanalian shouts and the wild orgies of drunken revelry. Family ties were sundered, husbands forsook their wives, and wives left husbands and helpless little children, to follow drunken paramours. To drink and be drunken was the test of allegiance and loyalty.

Kinau stood nobly in defense of virtue, decency, and good order, but the king refused to listen to her advice, and even threatened her with personal violence, if she dared to venture into his presence.

In her despondency she made us a visit one day, and said: "I am in straits and heavy-hearted, and I have come to tell you my thought. I am quite discouraged, and can not bear this burden any longer. I wish to throw away my rank, and title, and responsibility together, bring my family here, and live with you, or we will take our families and go to America; I have money." We sat down by her side, told her the story of Esther for her encouragement, and expostulated with her upon the impracticability of casting off her rank and responsibility. We assured her that she was called to her present position and dignity by Divine Providence, and that she must nerve herself to fulfill her high destiny. We knelt around the family altar, and asked for her strength, and wisdom, and patience, and for light on her darkened pathway.

I must go back three years in the chronicle of events (to December, 1829,) and bring up the history of Governor Boki. He plotted a rebellion, but failed in gaining the consent of the youthful king. He wished to crush the rule and influence of Kaahumanu and all her family, as he was averse to the Christian system and the restraint it imposed upon his plans of money-making. He favored rum-selling and immoral practices, used all his powers of persuasion to induce the king to marry his sister, the Princess Nahienaena, according to the old heathen custom. Failing in these attempts, he took advantage of the absence of Kaahumanu to fit out an expedition in search of an island producing sandal-wood, of which he had heard, and by means of which he hoped to re-

trieve his sinking fortunes. The king and chiefs remonstrated in vain; Boki took possession of the king's brig, and fitted it out hastily for a voyage; the brig *Becket* was also fitted for service. Both were navigated by foreigners under his own direction. One hundred and fifty native soldiers, ten white men, with native sailors, women and servants, embarked in the mad enterprise, nearly six hundred in all, and embracing the active business men the flower of the nation.

To every remonstrance he replied, "I will go, and not return, until a certain chief is dead." He sailed in ten days after the departure of the *Vincennes*, reached the island Rotuma, where the two brigs separated. The *Becket* found the island they were in search of, but got into a difficulty with the inhabitants, which ended in bloodshed. A dreadful malady broke out among them, of which one hundred and eighty died before the brig returned to Rotuma, where they left twenty more sick; then they sailed for Honolulu, where they arrived in August, 1830. Twelve natives, one of them the wife of the Captain, and eight foreigners, were the only survivors of the company. Of Boki and his numerous retinue no tidings ever reached his native shores. As the lower deck of the brig was strewed with bags of gunpowder, upon which the men sat and smoked, it is reasonable to infer that the vessel was blown up, and that all on board perished.

Madam Boki, left in charge of the island of Oahu, favored the ambitious designs of her husband. She would not believe that he was lost, but deceived herself with the vain hope that he would return some day in possession of the Golden Fleece.*

* At the present time, when a Hawaiian wishes to speak of something that can not possibly happen, he says it will take place "when Boki comes back."

After the return of the *Becket* with its tale of disasters, and while the chiefs were holding a council at Lahaina, she made an attempt at rebellion, which came near involving the country in a civil war. She filled the fort on Punch Bowl hill with armed men from her husband's lands, and put the force at her disposal in martial array. Executioners were named to cut off, one by one, her rivals in power, as they entered the harbor. Unfortunately for her success, tidings of these preparations were borne to the absent rulers in a way she did not suspect. Governor Hoapili, Madam Boki's father, embarked for Honolulu. As the little craft was descried in the offing, many hearts beat with painful suspense, to know the errand. The good old man landed without soldiers or guns; calm, dignified, undaunted, he proceeded directly to the dwelling of his daughter. His errand was brief. He came to invite her to go home with him to Lahaina. That was all! She went with him, and the storm blew over.

The chiefs finished the business for which they assembled, and returned to their several islands. John Adams (Kuakini) was appointed Governor of Oahu *pro tem.* "Temperance and reform" was the national motto, at least with the senior rulers. The king, unfortunately, did not adopt the counsel of the wise Fénelon, "Place no confidence in any but those who have the courage to contradict you with respect, and who love your prosperity and reputation better than your favor." Madam Boki retained a paramount influence over his mind and heart, flattering the one and pandering to all the vicious propensities of the other.

Although there could be no dispute regarding the hereditary claim of Kinau to the office of Premier, yet Madam Boki had the adroitness to keep the position second in person to the king, and aspired unquestionably

to the honors of her rival. This unsettled state of affairs continued through a part of the years 1832–'33, when a public meeting was convened in Honolulu, and the king, assuming the royal authority, proclaimed Kinau to be "Kuhina Nui," or Premier.

Old friends and schoolmates from the fatherland were welcomed to our shores at this period, in the persons of Rev. John Diell and his wife, who had accepted a call to the chaplaincy for seamen in Honolulu. One needs to be isolated a few years, at a distance half round the globe, to appreciate all there is in greeting a beloved and familiar face.

XV.

Religious Interest—Visits from House to House—Kinau as a Housekeeper—As a Friend—Auhea—Her Tea-Party.

HONOLULU, 1833.

I AM at a loss where to begin, and how to speak properly of the great things the Lord is doing in these islands. Our houses are thronged with inquirers from morning until evening, many of them ignorant enough, and in need of being taught the first principles of Christianity.

As soon as the door is opened in the morning, a crowd is ready to rush in, who seat themselves *a la Turque* around the room. Each individual must have separate attention, and tell his *manao* (thought). One company succeeds another, going through the same routine of questions and answers, leaving little time for breakfast or family worship, if perchance there is any appetite for the former, after inhaling so long an atmosphere robbed of its vitality and saturated with perfumes not the most agreeable. This must be patiently borne if we would do them good, though there is some difference of opinion whether this formal way of *thought telling*, as they term it, could not be turned into a meeting for general instruction to better advantage.

One's strength is overtaxed in the performance of these duties, though we endeavor to be systematic,

and economize the time. The ladies of the station have undertaken to visit all the church members at their houses, to see where and how they live, how many occupy the same dwelling, and if the children have separate lodgings. As we have no conveyance but such as nature has provided, the work is slow. The roads are mere foot-paths, winding among the kalo patches, and slippery and uneven. The names of fifteen hundred women, in the town of Honolulu and environs, are enrolled on our visiting list. We meet them on Friday of each week, divided into three companies, and in three different places.

To help these degraded beings up and out of the depths of their heathenism; to teach them how to become better wives, better mothers, and better neighbors is indeed a work that angels might covet, especially when these efforts seem to be accepted of God and are crowned with success.

I should like to take my friends to the dwelling-house of our Premier, Kinau, that they might see how well she arranges her domestic affairs. I have had one of her attendants in training several months. She has learned to make bread, cake, custards, and puddings. This gives me a good deal of trouble, as only a part of the materials are furnished, and I am expected to supply all the deficiencies.

Kinau claimed the privilege of giving her name to our eldest daughter, as she has sons only, but she is now supplanted in her affections by her (Kinau's) adoption of the infant daughter of Madam Paki (Konia). I go every morning to meet her at her mother's bedside, where we make the toilet of the pretty little lady. She is to bear the name of Bernice Pauahi, and will be taken from her mother in a few days.

To us this giving away of children seems a most un-

natural system, and a grievous outrage upon maternal instincts, but its apologists plead State policy, and that settles the matter.

Auhea (Kekauluohi), half-sister of Kinau, has built a fine two-story dwelling of coral stone, and furnished it in European style, and, more than that, occupies and keeps it in order. During the late general meeting of the mission, her ladyship made a tea-party, to which about sixty persons were invited. She did the honors with the dignity of one "to the manner born," and there was so much in the surroundings in that social interview to remind us of a far-distant country, that we indulged the pleasant illusion, fancying the intervening land and ocean bridged over.

Several merchants with their families have recently arrived from the States, and are a delightful acquisition to our social circle.

XVI.

Birth of Prince Alexander—Adopted by the King—What took place—Nahienaena: her Death and Funeral.

February 9, 1834.

THE birth of a fourth son to our illustrious Premier was an event of no ordinary import. Not many minutes after the young prince had breathed, the king presented himself. After congratulating the mother, and scrutinizing the infant with a look of affection, he went away, leaving a small slip of paper stuck in the thatch, upon which he had written this laconic sentence: "This child is mine." This was understood as an expression of friendship and reconciliation toward the mother, who had suffered so long and patiently from his alienation and excesses.

The baby was wrapped in a blanket and conveyed with due ceremony to the palace, where a new retinue of nurses and servants awaited him. The king had lost two beautiful sons, both dying in infancy, and now this little stranger was adopted as his own, and was the heir presumptive, in the event of no further royal claimant.

The State carriage, already described, was at my door, with sixteen men to transport me, the mistress of the robes, to the new scene of bustling excitement. A score of attendants were in motion; each must aid in some

way, providing the water, bowl, soap, and napkin. The clothes I brought in a basket from my own drawer. The same hand-cart came every morning for two weeks, and the same process of bath and dressing was undergone, in spite of the little princely protests against it.

The child grew and gained favor, and proved to be a real bond of union between the factious families. As soon as he was old enough, he was presented by his mother for baptism, and the rite administered in the native church by the Rev. Mr. Bingham. Kaomi retired to his former obscurity, and not long after died, it is said, of chagrin and disappointment.

One of the bitter fruits of the king's irregularities was the corruption and apostasy of his royal sister, the once promising Nahienaena. For a while the tears and prayers of her beloved teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Richards, stayed the progress of evil in her, but the star that had shone with a brilliancy that delighted all beholders, was destined to go down in darkness. She forsook her old home and teachers, came to Honolulu, where she spent her last years in dissipation. I was by her bed side a little before she died. She was in great distress of mind, amounting to agony. "There is no mercy for an apostate. I am one," she said. "I have crucified the Lord afresh." "Jesus spake pardon to the dying penitent on the cross," I said. "Do you say so?" she exclaimed, clasping my hand. "Can there be hope for one who has sinned as I have?" Then she made another effort to plead for mercy with that Saviour whose cause she had dishonored; but her strength failed—the golden bowl was broken.

Her funeral was one of great pomp and display. But neither the immense procession, the martial array of royal guards, the band of music, the magnificence of

stately "kahilis," the firing of minute guns, nor the solemn toll of the church bell, could stifle the remorse, or drown the sorrow of her royal brother. He appeared deeply affected by this untimely death, and many prayers were offered, that it might be the means of bringing him back to penitence and duty. Not long after the funeral ceremony, the body was taken to Lahaina and placed in the tomb of her mother, Keopuolani. The king then visited Hawaii.

XVII.

Mr. Richards' First Embassy—The King's Marriage—The Donation to the Church—Hilo—The Volcano—Half-way House—Night at the Crater—The Descent—Stone Church at Honolulu.

HONOLULU, 1837.

THE king is married to his favorite Kalama, a very sprightly young girl. The nuptial ceremony was performed in the native church, at the close of the evening service. Since the death of his sister the king appears sober and thoughtful. While absent a few weeks since, he wrote a letter to Dr. Judd, in which he expressed the hope that the "Word of God was budding in his heart."

After the collection of the annual poll tax in January, he appropriated fifteen hundred dollars in cash toward the new stone church, which is to be called the "King's Chapel." He came in person when the money was delivered to Mr. Bingham, remained to tea, and spent the evening in pleasant conversation. The money is to be forwarded to Boston, for the purchase of windows and lumber.

Mr. and Mrs. Richards were anxious to see the "lion" of Hawaii before sailing for home, and, as Dr. Judd was called to visit Hilo on professional business, we made up a party of four adults and seven children for the visit.

The little schooner *Clarion* entered the quiet waters of Hilo, or "Byron's" bay, at sunset, and I realized for

the first time all my early day-dreams of tropical beauty. While spending a few days in the enjoyment of the society of our friends, our wish to experience an earthquake was gratified by a slight shock. It was not a pleasant sensation, and we did not ask to have it repeated for our benefit. In a storm at sea, our thoughts naturally turn to the land—the solid earth—for rest; but alas! when the foundations tremble, rocking hither and thither, upheaving and shaking, as if to throw off its burden, there come over me a terror and utter helplessness that can not be described.

Our kind hostess, Mrs. Coan, fitted us off for a trip to the crater, a distance of about thirty miles, with provisions for four days; no small inroad upon the yearly allowance doled out to each family. One miserable jade of a beast was all the town of Hilo possessed in the way of horse-flesh. This served for two gentlemen and three ladies. Don't fancy us all mounted at once.

The ladies were provided with palanquins, extempo rized by fastening two boards together at an obtuse angle, one to sit upon with feet horizontal, and a shorter one to support the back. These were suspended by ropes to a pole borne on men's shoulders. A soap-box, emptied of its contents, with a cushion in it, and a cradle for the children, were carried in the same way. The natives provided themselves with poi and fish for the journey.

The head man of Hilo had deceived us. Instead of providing able-bodied and strong men for our relay of bearers, for whom our husbands had stipulated, and paid extra, we discovered they were sickly fellows, with shoulders already sore from transporting burdens for their task-master. But cheerfulness and resolution will accomplish wonders. The road through the woods, spread with trunks of the tree-fern, made it elastic for

the feet, and Mrs. Richards and myself walked many a mile.

We reached the "half-way house" at dark, where we found shelter in a large thatched house, untenanted, without window or door to close it. Our arrival had been anticipated by a company of young people from a neighboring district, who had come to be married, and thus save a journey to Hilo. The ceremony was performed by torchlight, and the parties retired in groups to the different parts of the building to wait for daylight, when they could go home. Sleep was out of the question, with the chattering voices, half subdued whispers, and merry laughter of the bridal party—and the fleas!

About midnight we were all brought to our feet by the entrance of a huge black hog, with tusks like a rhinoceros's. It required a vast deal of shouting and shaking of kapa to convince the intruder that he had mistaken his lodgings. We breakfasted at early dawn, and resumed our journey toward Mauna Loa. The air became exhilarating and cool, and the ascent was so grad ual as to be almost imperceptible.

Deep crevices, from which issued steam and heated air, warned us of our proximity to the domains of the goddess Péle. We tested their depth by dropping stones into them, but could not hear them strike the bottom.

Suddenly we came to the brink of a pit, eight hundred feet deep, and capacious enough to engulf the city of New York. The hut into which the guide led us was built on the very edge of this abyss, so that on entering the bearers swung the cradle quite over it. I was horrified with the sensation that we were on the point of tumbling in, and begged to go back to the woods for the night. Alone in my fears, I soon recovered. We

unpacked our bedding and prepared supper, and domesticated ourselves for the night. Our pillows were arranged so that we could command a splendid night-view of the fires below. The air was keenly cold. All our cloaks and blankets were insufficient, but the steam from a crevice close beside our bed supplied, in some measure, the deficiency.

Imprisoned giants forging thunderbolts could not have made a more unearthly roaring than the confined gases in the caverns below—whistling, bellowing like ten thousand bulls. Strange to say, we enjoyed some refreshing sleep in spite of the awful surroundings.

In the morning we descended into the crater by a sloping path, fringed on one side with ferns growing out of the crevices. On reaching the bottom the lava lay broken and scattered, like the ruins of demolished castles. Every few steps we passed a smoking chimney, throwing off suffocating gases from the subterranean laboratory beneath. The interest became intense, and precluded all sense of fear, and we rushed on with fleet steps, till we came to a broad area of fresh lava. The specimens were very beautiful and scattered around in fantastic shapes, such as might be the work of fairy fingers. A little further on we came to a lake of red, boiling lava, surging and dashing under the opposite ledge like waves on the sea shore. We approached as near as the intense heat would allow, and saw that the center was blackened over. We tried the thickness of the crust by tossing in some bits of lava, when to our astonishment the center of the lake broke and threw up a fiery jet of gory red, increasing and rising higher and higher, as we stood fascinated at the sight. The cauldron was filling, and the increased heat warned us to retire. The retreat up the sharp projecting stones was performed

with speed quickened by fear. We climbed out of the pit and got back to the forest for refuge and rest a little after sunset, quite satisfied with Madam Pele's entertainment and hospitality.

I must here note that the walls of the king's chapel are commenced, and many natives are employed in cutting and dragging coral stones from the sea-shore. It is a Herculean task to perform this work without beasts of burden, or the aid of any labor-saving machinery. The nation is still destitute of masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths. The only implement used is a narrow spade for agricultural purposes.

When timber is required from the mountain, they form a company and drag it over hill and dale with ropes, at a great waste of human strength and sinew. Horses are scarce and kept only for pleasure-riding. The mission owns a few yoke of working oxen.

The other day it occurred to one of us to try the experiment of training a horse to draw stone. A band and collar of coarse canvas were put together, and with a few lessons the animal was trained to the drudgery of useful labor. The natives look on and marvel at the skill of the foreigner. We hope soon to see mules and donkeys relieving men's bleeding shoulders. Patient teaching is required, as "Rome was not built in a day."

XVIII.

Children of Missionaries—How to be Educated—Different Opinions.

IT can not be said of the ladies of the Sandwich Islands Mission that "they lend their graces to the grave, and keep no copy." Most of the number have large families. An idea prevailed in the earlier years of the mission that the children could not be trained here, but must be sent to the fatherland. I shall never forget some of those heart-rending parting scenes. Little children, aged only six or seven years, were torn away from their parents, and sent the long voyage around Cape Horn, to seek homes among strangers. They have sometimes fared hard during those long voyages, without a mother's care, with no one but the rough sons of Ocean to nurse and watch them. They have sometimes fallen into the hands of selfish, exacting guardians, and been unkindly dealt with or sadly neglected. Their pillows have been wet with childhood's tears, as they thought of their far-off homes, and felt the need of parental sympathy and tenderness.

There are many, I fear, who can attest, by sad experience, to the bitterness of this heart-crushing system. On one occasion I accompanied some friends to a ship just starting for America. As the vessel moved from the wharf, there was one affectionate little girl, not more than seven years old, standing on the deck and looking

at her father on the shore, the distance between them widening every moment. She stretched out her little arms toward him and shrieked with all her strength, "Oh, father, dear father, do take me back!" I turned away from the heart-rending scene, and was thankful that it was Abraham, not Sarah, that was called to Mount Moriah.

Whether such separations were really necessary, was a question upon which different opinions were held. Some parents ran the risk of keeping their children, in the belief that the example of Christian families was of great importance to the heathen people with whom they dwelt. Why had their Heavenly Father entrusted them with the high and holy parental office, if they might thrust it off or delegate it to others?

We had no schools but such as mothers made in the nursery, for an hour or two in the morning, sometimes gathering the children of neighboring families, in order to economize time and strength. What a host of pleasant memories are clustered around those hallowed hours of home instruction, home songs, and home pleasures, all the world shut out by *taboo* walls around the playground! A little walk at sunset by the sea beach or cocoanut grove was the reward of good behavior. The children were always accompanied in these walks by either father or mother. The native language and native intercourse were strictly prohibited. Mothers were often weary and desponding in the effort to teach and train their children with one hand, and to labor for the people with the other, but they toiled on with patience, and watched and prayed, and, like Jochabed, could say:

"With invocations to the living God,
I twisted every slender reed together,
And with a prayer did every osier weave."

XIX.

Schools for Native Children — School-House — Materials.

IN 1832 I had the honor of assisting some of the ladies of the mission in organizing the first school for native children. The adult portion of the population had been collected into schools by thousands, and were learning to read and write. But the children were not yet tamed, and to catch them even was considered an impossibility. Their parents said they were like the goats on the hills, and had as little idea of subjugation. The chivalrous notion prevailed in those olden times as now, that woman's influence was all-powerful, and that whatever ladies undertook was sure to be accomplished. Higher motives than the meed of human praise stimulated the already overtaxed energies of some of that number in our mission, and induced them to try.

The first effort was made with the children of the church-members, in an unfurnished building. The little urchins were not quite naked, but we did not mind the garments, if so be their skins were clean. Cotton cloth was scarce, and the people poor; but water, thank Heaven, was plenty. We brought the children together, looked into their bright faces, asked their names, sung to them, and induced them to join us. Thus we discovered that they possessed the requisites for musical culture, ear and voice. We made for them drawings in natural history, which were hung where all could see them. A description of each was taught them, in

the form of questions and answers. Quick to comprehend, they repeated readily, and in concert, moral maxims, hymns, and portions of the Bible.

These exercises gained their attention, and gave them some idea of order. The singing and pictures attracted other children, and the number increased. Seated together on the mats, it was difficult to keep them quiet, for their tongues and elbows were in constant motion. Some method of seating them separately was a subject of study. Wooden seats were too expensive and not to be thought of; some one suggested rows of adobies (sun-dried bricks), with mat coverings. A bottomless soap-box served for a mold. The parents of the scholars were cheerful in the labor, and with the aid of a bright sun this substantial material was soon arranged in several long rows of seats, neatly covered with rush mats braided by the mothers. One step in the ladder of progress was gained, and we could keep them together a longer time, with less fatigue and more profit. Slates and pencils added another charm; the children were delighted with their efforts in copying the pictures that hung on the wall. It might be difficult to distinguish which was camel, elephant, sheep, or horse; but no matter, the children were busy and happy.

Native women assisted in teaching reading; and oral lessons in geography, with the aid of outline maps, were given them. The elements of arithmetic also were taught in the same simple method. As the children had never before seen a map of the world, they were quite astonished at the comparative littleness of their own islands.

It is not boasting to say that some of the best business men in the nation can be pointed out as once pupils in this first school for native children.

XX.

Reinforcements — Household Duties — Discussions — Location — A Maternal Association — More Discussions — A New School-room — School for Young Chiefs — Birth of a Princess — Prince Alexander — English Finery — November Weather.

HONOLULU, 1837.

FIVE reinforcements have been added to the Mission since our arrival. These all land in Honolulu, and are distributed among the different families until after the general annual meeting, when all the members from other islands and stations assemble here.

A good deal of preparation is necessary for this emergency, in repairing, house-cleaning, sewing, etc. It is no trifle to set a table for fifteen or twenty for a period of six weeks, although the fare be simple. It is an object to secure as many hours as possible from household duties to attend the sessions, since many of the discussions are important, the debates animated and interesting. The ladies take their children and amuse them with sewing, sketching, and cutting paper.

As the Mission is now so large, and nearly every State in the Union has its representative, it is not strange that opinions of duty and economy should conflict at times. There are a few radicals among the number who would divide up the mission and marshal each clan under leaders, in some specific reform; others plead with equal earnestness for a concentration of all the strength and

energy at command in carrying forward the great work of evangelizing the people, the work we were sent here to do, falling back upon the old motto, "In union is strength."

One of the vexed questions is the "common stock system," which assigns an equal division of every article in the mission depository to each individual member. Rigid notions of self-denial and economy would incline some to refuse their allotted portion, but this only leaves a surplus for the careless, less conscientious member to appropriate and waste. Presents and aid from personal friends are sometimes an occasion for envy or jealousy.

Location is another question difficult to divest of selfishness. Prepossession in favor of, or prejudice against, a certain field of labor, partiality for this or that associate, are severe tests of disinterestedness and amiability. In some instances where these predilections have been gratified, one year's experience has taught the important lesson, that often—

"Our very wishes give us not our wish."

Whenever the debate grows stormy, or threatening even, the sessions are suspended, and a day appointed for prayer and religious exercises, which is observed by all the families. These meetings for prayer, conference, and confession of sin are always precious seasons, and do not fail to secure the desired blessing. The brethren resume business, and, if possible, agree; if not, agree to differ, and go on harmoniously.

The ladies have formed a Maternal Association, embracing every mother and every child in the mission. Meetings are frequent during the general meeting, in which essays are read on various practical subjects. The difficulties in training properly the children in the islands,

are freely and confidentially discussed with mutual sympathy and prayer. The name and age of each child is registered, and each is in turn the subject of special prayer. The Lord hearkens and hears, and we trust a book of remembrance is written.

The business finished, the general meeting adjourns to another year. We meet for the last time, and sing,

"Blest be the tie that binds."

After procuring their supplies for the year, the families, new and old, embark for their various homes by the earliest opportunity.

It takes time to recover from the fatigue and excitement of these annual gatherings. One is reminded of a ship at sea after a gale, rolling hither and thither, with canvas flapping, unable to make any progress. The systematic arrangements of the household are necessarily interrupted during these seasons. The children are the sufferers; wildness and insubordination are the natural fruits of so much company and so much time for play. New faults are discovered, and each mother is inclined to regard her own child as the victim, and not the aggressor. In due time, however, equilibrium is restored, with perceptible gain of wisdom and energy.

While the season for the general meeting is always in Spring time, the Fall is the period when returning families embark for a voyage around Cape Horn. Outfits of warm clothing for the cold weather, and garments to last the children during the fine weather, without washing, are something of a tax to prepare, and the families of Honolulu have the privilege of doing this extra work.

We have made some pleasant acquaintances among the Methodist brethren (who labor in Oregon Territory) as they go and come by way of the Islands.

I must not forget to mention the visit of Friend Daniel Wheeler and his son Charles, a few months ago. They are making missionary visits around the world in their own little yacht, the *Henry Freeling*. They spent six months among us, visiting all the stations. The old gentleman has resided some years in St. Petersburg, although an Englishman by birth. He preached two hours to our native congregation, with Mr. B—— for interpreter. The sentences were so long, and the thought wrapped in so much mystification, that it did not make a great impression, except upon one's patience. The natives are keen to detect peculiarities, and inquire what is the difference between our religions. I undertook the other day to explain to my scholars the different denominations. "Have you different gods?" "No, we all worship the same living and true God." "Do you have different Bibles?" "Oh, no, there is but one Bible, the Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testaments, written by men divinely inspired." "Have you all the same Saviour?" "Yes, the same." "Well, then, with the same God, with the same Bible, and the same Saviour, we can not understand why you differ." I was ashamed to tell them that the mode of baptism with water was one cause of division; and another, the method of church government; and another, whether prayers should be read from a book, or offered as the heart prompted; that the wisest and best of Christians, ministers of the Gospel even, were very decided in their opinions on these subjects. And so I touched the matter lightly, telling them the time is near when there will be one fold and one shepherd.

Now about our new school-room. Captain B—— gave a lot of old bricks to Dr. Judd, with which he paved the basement of our dwelling-house. He cut through the

wall in front, made a door and flight of steps, which, with two glazed windows, makes a fine dispensary and school-room. I have selected four promising boys from the children's school, who come four days in the week to learn arithmetic and geography, preparatory to admission to the High School at Lahainaluna. One of them will probably study medicine. In addition to this duty, in which I take great delight, the teachers in the children's school come daily for an hour's instruction. It is a great saving of time to have a place so near, neatly fitted up with seats, desks, and mats.

At the general meeting in 1838, as a reinforcement of school-teachers had just been welcomed to the islands, one of the most important questions was in regard to a school for the children of the chiefs. A request had been presented for one of the new families to be set apart for this work. The pupils were to reside in the family, and the instruction was to be given in the English language. Some advocated the democratic principle, that chiefs and people should be educated in the same school and on the same footing. Others argued that there was great need that the future rulers of the nation should have special pains taken with them, and be educated with reference to their position and prospective duties. The debate ended in the appointment of Mr. and Mrs. Cooke to commence a family boarding-school for this class of pupils. The chiefs were liberal in their appropriations, a site was selected in the rear of the palace grounds, and the buildings in process of erection before the year closed.

November 1, 1838.

The state carriage is again at the door. A young princess is added to the interesting family of our queen,

Kinau, already blessed with four sons, although "one is not." She now rejoices in the long-desired boon, a daughter of her own, and her bliss is perfect.

The child is to be called Kamamalu, the name of the queen who died in England, to which we have suggested the addition of Victoria. Strange to say, the mother is to keep and nurse this child herself—an anomaly in the annals of Hawaiian aristocracy. Governor Adams has put in a claim, but it is overruled by argument and persuasion.

One of the ladies of the Oregon Mission, detained here for some months, is teaching a little school of the Mission children in a small thatched house in our garden. Several scholars from the foreign families in town attend also. Prince Alexander comes daily, accompanied by two attendants, to learn English. The king has requested us to take him into our family, and train him as we do our own children, which we would gladly do, if it were possible to detach him from such a retinue of nurses and servants. He is sprightly and attractive, and is this moment on my bed, playing "hide and seek" with the children. He just now inquired for "Music," a name he has given to a gentleman in the family who sings and plays the accordeon.

November 3d.

After dressing the little princess to-day, I was sent for by her aunt, to look over some of the old treasures brought from England in the *Blonde* with the royal party, and to select whatever could be remodeled for the little heiress. There is one court dress of white satin, with ample train, and richly embroidered with silver. It is still brilliant and untarnished. Another of maroon-colored velvet, with satin trimming of the same shade;

I once saw the Princess Nahienaena wear it. There were head-dresses of tulle flowers, feathers, and pearls, shawls of blonde lace, and a few valuable jewels. The old lady showed me a breast-pin of clustered rubies and emeralds, which she said cost fifteen hundred dollars.

It is the gloomy month of the year. The wind from the south throws up a heavy surf, which roars like distant thunder as it strikes the shore. The atmosphere, damp and heavy, is filled with the peculiar odor of seaweed and fresh coral. I listen to the moaning, shrieking blast and drenching rain, and think of the poor natives in straw huts, so slightly built that to-night's storm will leave many families shelterless.

XXI.

Temperance in 1839—*Security—Education in the Native Language—Political Economy—Mr. Richards—Feudal System—Laws—Dr. Judd—Difficulties—French Priests—Proselytes—Idolatry—Arrival of La Place—His Demands—Reflections—The East India Squadron under Commodore Read—Death of Kinau.*

IN the years 1838 and 1839 the success of the schools and prosperity of the churches were at the culminating point; the latter were crowded with willing worshipers. Thousands of children were taught in Sunday-schools, and instructed in separate congregations. The "cold water army" embraced legions of valiant champions, who mustered occasionally in holiday dress, and marched with flaunting standards of "Down with Rum," "Cold water only."

Life and property were everywhere safe, and it was seldom that persons could be found who did not regard themselves as Christians.

There was not the drawback of a foreign tongue as a medium of communication with the native mind. The entire Bible was translated and printed in the native language. There was also a Book of Hymns, and other volumes—Reading Lessons, Hymns for Children, Natural History, Geography, Mathematics, Astronomy, Moral Science, the Pilgrim's Progress, etc., and a semi-monthly newspaper; sixty volumes in all, and embracing a wider

range of literature than constituted the library of many happy children and youth in New England forty years ago.

It was a maxim with the Mission that in order to preserve the nation, they must preserve its speech. The construction of the Hawaiian language is so simple, when compared with the English, that it is no marvel that so many of the natives acquired the art of reading and writing it. The proportion is estimated as greater than in any other country in the world, except Scotland and New England.

The people generally understood and could explain the plan of salvation through a crucified Redeemer, and were better theologians than political economists. The rulers in particular felt their deficiency in respect to the latter. They had applied to the Mission and its patrons for aid from the United States, in the failure of which, Mr. Richards was allowed to withdraw his connection from the Mission and enter the service of the Government as translator and political adviser.

The old system of government was an unlimited monarchy; but the power was somewhat divided and shared by a body of chiefs, male and female, who met occasionally in council. The rulers were owners of the soil. The people were tenants at will, and liable to be dispossessed at any time, and victimized by the fickleness of their landlords. The king and chiefs were very tenacious of their right to the soil, and allowed foreigners to occupy it only upon the same feudal tenure as the natives. And this led to constant broils. The arrival of a ship-of-war was the occasion to search up old debts and make out new claims to land. Native courts were very informal, the governor of each island constituting both judge and jury. The poll-tax was paid in kind at the

commencement of the year. The people came in trains to the palace and handed it over in person. There was no appropriation bills, and where the money went to, concerned only the fortunate receivers. Kamehameha III. was reckless in money matters, generous to a fault, and surrounded by a set of parasites to whom he could never say "No."

Mr. Richards entered upon his new duties with a small salary. A simple code of laws adapted to the state of the people was soon after published. It defined the labor tax, granted to the common people the right to hold personal property, and regulated various other important matters.* Mr. Richards lived at Lahaina. At Honolulu, the metropolis and principal commercial city, others were frequently called upon, as interpreters and translators, in the transaction of business with foreigners.

As Dr. Judd was not a clergyman, and had been the medical attendant and personal friend of the royal family, it was natural that they should often apply to him. He taught clerks to keep, in the native language, records of all important business, and to preserve all receipts on payment of debts, in order to prevent being compelled to pay them twice, which had not unfrequently happened.

In the midst of so much prosperity there was one dark cloud casting its shadow over our sunny sky. The antagonism of certain foreign officials sat like an incubus upon the rulers, to which was added a determined perseverance on the part of France to thrust brandy and Romanism upon the nation.

---

* But these laws were chiefly a codification of existing regulations and laws.

On the arrival of the first French priests, who asked permission to remain, Kaahumanu said:

"We do not want you. We have put away our idols, and abandoned our old system of religious forms and penances. We have received the Word of God by the hand of teachers whom we love, and with whom we are satisfied. Our kingdom is a little one. We do not wish the minds of our subjects distracted by any other sect. Go away and teach destitute countries, which have not received the Bible."

They not obeying her mandate, she fitted out a vessel to carry them to the coast of California, but this was a waste of money, for others followed, more or less disguised, to fill their places. The "Société de Propaganda Fide," of France, resolved to place one of their priests by the side of every Protestant clergyman in the Sandwich Islands. The good queen of Louis Philippe was zealous in their cause, and French ships-of-war landed the graduates of the College of Picpus on many shores of the Pacific. They were sustained by French guns—meet arguments for kings, perhaps, but not so appropriate for the ambassadors of the Cross.

It was unfortunate that the first proselytes of the new faith were persons disaffected toward the chiefs. Some of them were excommunicated members of the Protestant churches, or had been denied admission. When Kaahumanu discovered that they wore crosses and images around their necks, as distinctive badges of their creed, she demanded their surrender.

"Do you not know that the king's first law forbade image worship? Take those from your necks."

The silence maintained by most of the priests, and the answer of one, that they would not relinquish them, even if their bodies were thrown into the fire or boiling

water, alarmed and astonished the chiefs. Accustomed as they had always been to implicit obedience, they inferred very naturally that such an element in their little kingdom would prove very dangerous, if permitted to increase. They did not regard these neophytes as religious people, or punish them for any truly religious sentiment, but for obstinacy in retaining their images, which the chiefs regarded as idolatry, and could not be made to understand the difference.

They argued that their old gods, but recently destroyed by royal power, were mere representatives of the spiritual, or symbol of the thing signified, and was it not the same with the Roman Catholics? A contest for supremacy as rulers led them to adopt measures harsh and impolitic, which never were and never can be justified in suppressing a religious faith. . . . .

In July following a French frigate of sixty guns, under command of Admiral La Place, entered the port, and, after an interview with the French Consul, made the following demands of the Hawaiian Government:

"That the Catholic religion be declared free;

"That a site for a church be immediately granted;

"That prisoners of the Catholic faith be immediately set free;

"That twenty thousand dollars be taken on board the frigate by some person of rank, to be held as a guarantee for future good behavior."

Three days grace were allowed, when, if the demands were not complied with, the nation would be involved in all the horrors of war. American missionaries were classed with the native rulers, as instigators of the persecution against the Romanists, and denied the protection of their country's flag. The American Consul had but just entered office. The Premier likewise wa

new in office, and both were timid. We were absent making a tour of the island in company with our esteemed friends, Mr. and Mrs. Jarves. A messenger from the metropolis met us about thirty miles from home, with an order from the chiefs "for all the able-bodied men in the district to prepare food quickly and hasten to Honolulu, as the French had made war." The man added, on his own account, that the French ship carried guns which could fire around the mountains and send balls all over the island! We mounted our horses and hastened on to the next station at Kaneohe, ten miles from the city, where the gentlemen left the women and children, and hastened to Honolulu.

What could the rulers do but submit? The sum required was quickly collected—a part of it borrowed from the American merchants and taken on board the frigate. The land for the church was granted. The Catholic prisoners had been set at liberty some weeks before.

La Place evidently intended to take the islands, as he did not think it possible that so large a sum could be raised in so short a time. In a note to the foreigners he said: "I have prepared forces sufficiently strong, that in giving a dreadful blow the French shall be the *masters* and the protectors of the town at the same time."

While the course pursued by the chiefs toward the proselytes can not be justified, it did seem hard, when they had but just emerged from a sea of troubles, in quelling civil dissension, quenching the fires of their own distilleries, and struggling for foothold, that a new creed should thus be forced upon them. They were afraid of its influence, and had reason to be so.

While the king and chiefs were writhing under these humiliating exactions, an American squadron arrived from the East, under the command of Commodore Read.

The corps of officers were highly intelligent and accomplished gentlemen, some of them professing Christians. On learning that American families, of helpless women and children, had been proscribed, and, in case of hostility, were to be handed over, without judge or jury, to the merciless mob, their indignation was somewhat aroused, and the regret often expressed that they had not arrived a little sooner.

Pleasant and friendly intercourse during a visit of five weeks encouraged the desponding chiefs, and obliterated in some degree the idea that we were defenseless exiles from our native land.

In April, 1839, Kinau was attacked with an illness which terminated in congestion of the brain and paralysis. She died after lingering four days in an unconscious state. The hand of the Lord fell heavily upon us, but we bowed in submissive silence, for He had said, "Put not your trust in princes."

XXII.

Sickness and Death of a Child—Hoohano, a Medical Student—Native Poetry—Death of a Midshipman.

HONOLULU, *November* 25, 1839.

AFTER twelve years of uninterrupted domestic happiness and prosperity, death has come and knocked at our windows. Our first-born, the son of our strength, our promising, our beloved Gerrit is dead! He was cut down in the full tide of blooming health and spirits by a malady that remedies could not reach. I can not tell how it was, but I felt, from the first symptoms of the disease which appeared, that he would die, and the dear child seemed to have the same presentiment. He died on the fourth day of his illness.

Hoohano, Dr. Judd's medical student, who was much attached to Gerrit, watched by him the night after he died, and in the morning he handed us some lines written in the native language, on a leaf in his journal; the following is a translation:

"Farewell to the beautiful flower of the doctor's garden;
It has fallen and vanished away.
The flower that budded first and blossomed fair;
Its splendor was seen; its fragrance exhaled;
But the burning sun came and it withered.
And that beautiful blossom has fallen!
The occupant of the garden then wondered
That a certain flower should have fallen.

He sought it, but found it not again; it was gone;
It had perished; it had mingled with the dust.
Alas! what pity for the flower plants,
Which grow up well, and lo! they are withered.
All the flowers bowed their heads smelling the fragrance;
They stood around in great sorrow.
Alas! alas! O my blossom that has fallen.
The chief tenant inquired of his landlord,
'What thinkest thou concerning this flower,
Which thou didst plant in my border?'
The Lord replied: 'I have taken away the image of all its glory;
Its hut has fallen and is mingled with the dust.'
How beautifully did the plant flourish;
Great compassion for the tenant resident;
Mourning and searching with great lamentation;
Whither, O Gerrit, hast thou gone?
When wilt thou return to thy birthmates?
Alone hast thou gone in the way that is lonely;
Thou hast gone a stranger in an unknown path.
O Gerrit! Gerrit! behold we all
Are stricken flowers and soon shall fall.
Where art thou? Go, thou, and be a pioneer to welcome us.
O Gerrit! Thou goest at the pleasure of thy Lord,
And none can forbid thy design; go, thou,
Travel on until thou art wholly gone along the silent pathway;
Ascend the ladder of God's kingdom,
And pass within the glorious walls of Jerusalem,
And enter into the peace of God's kingdom.
Thou art singing hymns with good angels,
And never ceasing is thy employment there.
O Gerrit! Gerrit! Deeply we mourn that we can not behold thee;
Forever hast thou gone from our sight,
And wilt return hither no more."

No one can imagine how this sweet effusion from the heart of this poor boy affected us. It suffers by trans-

lation. The "occupant of the garden" and the "chief tenant" refer to the father; the "tenant resident" to the mother. We never allow our children to be out of our sight without knowing where they are. How often he has heard my voice calling him, as he used to go sometimes to Hoohano's room and sing with him. "Pioneer" refers to a custom among the chiefs, as they move from place to place, of sending on messengers to build houses and make preparations for their arrival.

A young midshipman from the United States ship-of-war *John Adams* was left in our family sick with consumption. He was fully aware of his condition, and earnest in his preparation for death. Gerrit spent hours each day in reading to him, and they formed a warm friendship for each other. We used to pray with him daily; and little thought the Lord was preparing us in attendance on this young stranger to perform the same tender office for our own dear boy.

Mr. M—— died the next day after Gerrit's funeral, and was buried by his side in the mission cemetery.

"Not lost, but gone before."

XXIII.

Second Visit to Wailuku—Lahaina Luna—Hard Traveling—Over the Isthmus—Welcome—Changes at Wailuku—Female Boarding-schools—Sickness among the Pupils—East Maui, the Wheat Region.

SOON after the death of our dear boy, Dr. Judd was called to visit Wailuku, and investigate the cause of a new disease among the pupils of the Female Boarding-school established there under the care of Rev. J. S. Green and Miss Ogden. Little persuasion was necessary to induce me to accompany him. A night and a day of discomfort on board a native craft brought us to Lahaina, where we spent a few days with Mr. and Mrs. Richards. We were detained some weeks in Lahainaluna in attendance on the sick, and had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the arrangements of the High School established by Rev. L. Andrews. We were delighted with the institution, the fine views its locality commands, everything but the *red dust*, which sweeps down the hills in clouds that sometimes threaten the neighborhood with the fate of premature burial. With the aid of the slightest breeze, this red powder is in circulation, and leaves its trace on everything in-doors and out.

From Lahainaluna we went to Wailuku, which town we had visited thirteen years before. A new road had been made around the foot of the mountain, the crookedest, rockiest, ever traveled by mortals. Our party

consisted of five adults and five children. We had but two horses. One of these was in a decline on starting; it gave out in a few miles, and was left to die by the road-side. The other, "Old Lion," deserves to be immortalized for the services he performed that day, in carrying three and four children at a time on his broad back up and down that unsheltered, zigzag mountain road. An ox team and fresh horses were expected at the foot of the mountain, but none appeared, and nightfall overtook us at the "Isthmus," with ten miles more to travel. The wind from the other shore swept across it and was cooling us a little too rapidly after the intense heat of the day. To go farther without rest or aid was impossible. The shelter of an old canoe-house and a broken ox-cart was all the immediate neighborhood afforded. The children were tumbled into the latter, and I lay down on my baggage with a violent toothache, while my husband went in search of aid. Two horses and a man were procured, and we mounted, with the little ones tied on behind, with shawls around our waists, so they should not fall off if they dropped asleep. The man carried one on his back, and we started off to finish our journey in a darkness that might be felt.

The miles were long, and before we reached the village we found the native, who carried the little girl, had taken another road. Dr. Judd went back to find him, and I reached the white picket gate and lighted cottage of our missionary friends first. Lanterns and men were soon mustered to go in search of the stragglers, who were met just outside the gate, all safe.

The warm welcome, the cheerful parlor, and well-spread board of our friends, Mr. and Mrs. Green, soon dispelled the fatigue and disappointments of the wearisome day. Auwae's native village had become a

flourishing missionary station. The little cluster of whitewashed adobe dormitories, where the pupils of the seminary lodged, was a pretty relief among the deep green shrubbery of the rich gardens. A large native church edifice was in course of erection, under the energetic superintendence of Rev. R. Armstrong. The neighborhood was roused, and busy in carrying forward plans for improving the place and developing the native resources of industry and wealth.

The boarding-school for native girls was the pride of the place. It was a pleasant sight to watch the little girls spreading the table and eating with plates, knives, forks, and spoons, or neatly dressed and at work in the flower garden, where each pupil had a patch to cultivate, or to see them in the work-room, learning to sew, knit, spin, and plait straw, also to *crochet* tidies and edgings.

The malady prevailing among them, which had created such a panic among the parents and guardians as to endanger the permanence of the institution, was a low, nervous fever. The doctor called it *marasmus*. Several had died already, and many were sick. It was undoubtedly caused by the great change in their habits of living. Unaccustomed to any restraint, irregularly fed, without mental or physical effort required of them, and spending most of their time in the open air, the change was too great, too sudden to be made safely, and without preparation. It became necessary to allow more hours of unrestrained freedom and exercise.

Auwae, our hospitable chief, and many of his hardy bird-catchers had passed away, just at the dawn of a better day among his people.

In company with Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong we visited East Maui, and spent a few days in the beautiful region of country occupying the slope of Haleakala. We trav-

eled over sand-hills and up the ascent for fifteen miles in an ox-cart, which was well provided with pillows, blankets, and small stores of bread, butter, doughnuts, and baked pork and beans. There were but two white men in all the region at that time. One of them, Mr. Miner, put me on his beautiful white horse, the gayest animal I ever mounted, and we all had a ride to the village on the sea-shore, to attend a meeting with the natives. The air was bracing, and our horses flew over the plain. This fine portion of our islands is now (1860) all purchased by, and under the cultivation of, white men. Thousands of acres are covered with wheat-fields, waving their golden plumes, and there are also here several of the best sugar plantations on the islands. Fields of wild strawberries lie around the sides of the mountain. The summit of this old giant crater is occasionally covered with snow, and the view from it is extremely grand. It is becoming a favorite summer resort for pleasure-seekers and invalids.

XXIV.

The King and Premier—Return to Lahaina—Intemperance—Beginning of Reform—Return to Honolulu—Trouble on Board the Schooner—The Royal School—Changes in the Mission—Punahou School—Departure of Mr. and Mrs. Bingham.

1839—1841.

AS to the business transactions of the nation, King Kamehameha III. was at this time almost a myth; when he was most wanted he was not to be found. The new Premier, Kekauluohi, was amiable and well disposed, but what could a weak woman do, destitute as she was of the statesmanlike qualities of her predecessors in office?

Both of these important functionaries resided at Lahaina instead of Honolulu, the metropolis, and his Majesty was wasting a mint of money in the erection of a palace, which was intended to be immensely grand, but which was never to be finished. It was demolished some years afterward.

On our return to Lahaina Mr. Richards and Dr. Judd called to pay their respects to his Majesty, but he was indulging in one of his periodical revels, which lasted sometimes for weeks. His temper and disposition, when sober, were mild and generous, but strong drink made him a madman. The night before our arrival he had, in his frenzied fury, severely injured his friend and favorite, John Young. When sufficiently sobered to comprehend

what he had done, he dashed away his bottles in distress and mortification.

Another interview was sought, when the king received his friends with kindness, and expressed deep regret at the course he had been pursuing, and at the disgrace brought upon himself and by his excesses. He pleaded, by way of apology, his embarrassments with foreign powers. The French had crippled him, and the English Consul boasted of a list of grievances long enough to reach around the palace. The debts were enormous, with little prospect of liquidation. The ship of State was about stranding on a lee shore. What could be done to save it?

He said if Mr. Richards and Dr. Judd would earnestly engage to aid him, he would pledge his honor to reform his personal habits, and curtail his expenditures, so as to pay some of the most pressing debts immediately. He would in future conduct himself in all respects worthy of his position and responsibility, as the head of his people. As these pledges were voluntary on his part, they inspired new hope, and we returned to Honolulu a little encouraged.

The passage down was made in a native schooner; as a specimen of Hawaiian skill in navigation there was a violent altercation most of the night between the captain and the cabin-boy, whether the point of land, visible through the haze and rain, was the island of Molokai, or Barber's Point, on Oahu. Daylight proved the boy to be in the right; we were just off the harbor of Honolulu.

. . . . . .

A little oasis in all this desert of discouragement, was the school established for educating the young chiefs. The future welfare and perpetuity of the Government seemed to center in the success of this effort. A good deal of Dr. Judd's time was occupied with the chiefs and

Governor Kekuanaoa in preliminary arrangements for a permanent institution. A document with the signatures of the principal chiefs, and dated "Lahaina, June 1, 1839," now lies before me, petitioning Dr. Judd to accept the trusteeship of the school, and to become the guardian of the royal pupils.

Governor Kekuanaoa aided most generously in erecting the buildings, and the chiefs were liberal in their appropriations. The most delicate and difficult task to perform was the separation of the young princes from doating guardians and a host of attendants of both sexes, whose business of a life-time had been to follow their footsteps and anticipate their wants. Trained in every indulgence, and petted by such a retinue of servants, how could they be subdued to order and taught self-reliance?

The choice of teachers was most happy. In Mrs. Cooke the pupils enjoyed the instructions of an educated and intellectual woman, combined with the cheerful, judicious counsels of an affectionate mother. It was a great pleasure to visit them and trace their progress in mastering that difficult language—the English—through the medium of which they acquired, in due time, a knowledge of all the branches necessary for a substantial education. A natural taste for music and drawing was also cultivated, in which many of them excelled.

Three sons and one daughter of our lamented Premier, Kinau, were pupils in this school. We loved them very tenderly for their mother's sake, and did not forget her dying charge, to watch over and care for them. Many fond hopes were cherished that these young chiefs would graduate from the school with the endowments of wisdom and piety. The care of this school went into Mr. Richards' hands when he was appointed Minister of Public Instruction.

The Mission was undergoing great changes at this time. Large families, with increasing demands for support and education, were revolutionizing the old system of common stock. Aid in teaching the older children was imperiously demanded. The *Gloucester* arrived in 1841, and brought the Rev. D. Dole and wife, who were willing to turn aside from ordinary missionary labor among the natives, and commence a school expressly for the children of the missionary families. A fine location was chosen at Punahou, situated two miles from Honolulu, at the entrance of the beautiful valley of Manoa.

This land was a gift to Mr. Bingham from Governor Boki, just before the latter sailed on his wild enterprise after sandal-wood. It contains living springs of pure cold water, and embraces all the requisites of a little paradise. Foundations of coral stone were laid, upon which the new adobe buildings were to be erected, enclosing two courts. This portion of the labor fell to Dr. Judd. Mr. E. O. Hall enclosed the premises with a high stone wall.

Our old and tried friends, Mr. and Mrs. Bingham, left the islands in 1840, to seek health and rest in their native land, but with the prospect of returning in eighteen months, a prospect which was never fulfilled.

XXV.

Kapiolani—Caves at Kaawaloa—A Crazy Woman Exploring—What She Found—Kapiolani tells Stories—Consequences of Violating a Taboo—Surgical Operation—Death of Kapiolani.

1841.

ABOUT the year 1821, as one of the pioneer missionaries was walking on the sea-shore, he saw, sitting on a rock, a large, finely-proportioned native woman, saturating her dusky skin with the fragrant cocoanut oil, and basking in a tropical noon-day sun, like a seal or sea-elephant. It is difficult to believe this personage to have been our present lady-like and sensitive Kapiolani.* You have seen her name in print often, as she was the heroic woman who ventured into the tabooed crater of the goddess Pele, against the remonstrances of her terror-stricken attendants, who watched her descent, expecting to see her swallowed up in the fiery embrace of the incensed deity. She accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Ruggles and ourselves into the sacred enclosure at Hoonaunau, forbidden to women in the olden time; no one but Kaahumanu had been bold enough to tread the enchanted ground. Naihe, her stern and lordly husband, sometimes rebukes her audacity in tampering with ancient usages and superstitions. One reason may be that

* The present Queen, wife of King Kalakaua, is named Kapiolani after the subject of this sketch.

he is the guardian of those old tombs of kings and chieftains, which is an honorable and sacred trust.

The high rocky bluff, just back of their villa at Kaawaloa, where Captain Cook fell, is full of caves where a long line of old warrior kings are sleeping. One bright day when Mrs. Ruggles and I were alone with Kapiolani, we sat down and watched the movements of a crazy woman who had climbed the precipice, and spent the day in passing in and out of the different caves, and in airing and throwing down those secreted treasures of centuries. We expected she would fall and be dashed in pieces, as the giddy height she attained appeared inaccessible to other than ærial beings.

What was our surprise, just after lamplight, to see her enter the door and deposit at Naihe's feet a huge bundle done up in black kapa. "Here it is," she said, "I have been busy all day airing your property." He gave her a blow with his cane, and demanded how she dared venture into such a *tabu* place, and bade her restore every thing as she found it, the next day.

Kapiolani watched the proceedings in silence for a few moments, and then whispered to Mrs. Ruggles and myself to interfere with the decision of her husband. "Let us see what is in the mysterious bundle," she said, "it is of no use to the dead." Naihe gave the bundle a push with his cane, adding, "Do what you like with it."

Our curiosity was greatly excited while Dr. Judd removed the wrappings of kapa. First came a hideous idol, with staring eyes and grinning teeth of white pearl shell, and a tuft of human hair on the top of the head. Then another smaller one, less hideous, of similar workmanship. These were household gods, and buried with their proprietors. "Send them to your friends in America," said Kapiolani, "and tell them such were our

gods, before you sent us the Bible." There were various other articles, such as polished cocoanut shells, a canoe paddle, mats, and a variety of kapa, all supposed to be useful in the "spirit land."

Kapiolani was very much excited, and after the crazy crone was disposed of and the treasures distributed among her guests, she entertained us with stories and incidents of her childhood.

Bananas and various kinds of fish were forbidden to women under the old system. One day she resolved to taste the banana, and risk the consequences if detected. Another girl was with her of equal rank and years. They concealed the fruit as well as they could with the palm of the hand and thumb, and rushed into the sea to bathe and eat the forbidden fruit. An eagle-eyed priest discovered them; they were tried for the ungodly deed and condemned to suffer the penalty, which was poverty, loss of rank, and to remain unmarried. This they must suffer, unless suitable expiation could be made. The priest suggested the sacrifice of a little boy, a favorite page of Kapiolani's, as a suitable offering. He was immediately seized and carried to the sacred inclosure at Hoonaunau, and was seen no more. Kapiolani called for the same old priest to come and sit by her, and say what he now thought of those proceedings. "Oh," said he, "those were dark days, though we priests knew better all the time. It was power we sought over the minds of the people to influence and control them." Kapiolani asked him what he did with the boy. "He was strangled on the altar," said he. She hid her face with her hands and wept. "Oh, why did not Christians come sooner and teach us better things?"

Kapiolani is now here on a visit; she has had a cancer removed from her breast, and is rapidly improving.

When the surgeons entered to perform the operation, she appeared a little fluttered and nervous, requested a few moments to go by herself and pray. She returned calm and dignified, took her seat and submitted to the surgeon's knife with unflinching fortitude and firmness. Her heart is so full of gratitude for the recovery of her health she can not be quiet a moment, and wants to enlist all hearts in a song of praise.

. . . . How can I write the sad sequel? Our noble Kapiolani was attacked with erysipelas from a walk in the hot sun, and died very suddenly. Another prop removed from the nation.

XXVI.

The United States Exploring Expedition — Their Operations—A Picnic—Ascent of Mauna Loa—Dr. Judd's Letter—His Danger and Escape—Our First Thanksgiving—More about the Expedition—A Native Trick—Mr. and Mrs. Jarves.

THE visit of the United States Exploring Expedition in 1840, '41, and '42, with sixty officers and a scientific corps, men of rare talents and polished manners, was no common event in our isolated kingdom. Commander Wilkes set up his observatory on shore and occupied for some months the house and premises of the Premier. The scientific gentlemen pursued their researches in their several departments with indomitable energy, surveying our coasts and harbor, measuring the heights of the mountains, penetrating the deep glens of the forests for rare plants, scaling precipices for birds, and diving into ocean's depths for specimens of its varied and beautiful tenantry.

During their first visit to Honolulu, the officers made a kind of picnic party on the plain, the first to which all parties in our community, grave and gay, were ever invited, and met on common ground. Forty white ladies sat down to a table spread with luxuries from the four quarters of the globe, and arranged with the elegance peculiar to the officers of the navy. It was something new to us, and I fancied that some faces, little accustomed to smile, looked brighter and happier for a long time afterward.

The crowning exploit of the expedition was the ascent of Mauna Loa on Hawaii, for making observations on the vibrations of the pendulum. Choice and heavy apparatus, house material and food for the party were transported sixty miles on men's shoulders, and up a high mountain of rugged lava. Dr. Judd accompanied the expedition as interpreter and overseer of the natives.

Cold, hunger, sore feet, and fatigue were obstacles overcome by the indomitable courage of commander and men. Captain Wilkes pitched his tent on the summit, nearly fourteen thousand feet above the level of the sea, where he remained three weeks, and completed his observations, in spite of storm and tempest, which in two instances prostrated their tents. The following is an extract from Dr. Judd's letters:

"HILO, *January*, 1841.

". . . . I went down into Kilauea on the 16th to collect gases, taking a frying pan, in hopes of dipping up some liquid lava. Kalama went with me to measure the black ledge, and I had five natives to carry apparatus and specimens.

"We descended the black ledge, placed the tube for gases, and went in search of liquid lava. As we passed a small crater, quite cool apparently, I observed a quantity of 'Pele's hair' on the sides, and stopped to gather it. I stepped by degrees from one stone to another, gathering and handing the specimens to Kalama, till I had passed quite under the ledge. Suddenly I heard the report of an explosion; a fiery jet burst up from the center, and a river of fire rolled toward me. The heat was intense. I could not retrace my steps and face the fire, so I turned to the wall, but could not climb over the projecting ledge. I prayed God for deliverance, and shouted to the natives to come and take my hand, which I could extend over the ledge so as to be seen. Kalama heard me and came to the brink, but the intense heat drove him back. 'Do not forsake me and let me perish,' I said. He came again and threw himself on the ground, with face averted to avoid the heat, seized my hand with both his

and I threw myself out. The fire swept under as I went over the ledge, burning my shirt-sleeves and wrist, and blistering Kalama's face.

"The crater filled up in a few minutes, and I took the frying pan, which was lashed to a long pole, and dipped it full, but finding it imperfect, emptied it, procured another, and ran away with all speed, as it began to overflow.

"It is forty days since we left the *Vincennes*. I am sitting by a table in a tent, for the purpose of paying off and settling with the natives employed in carrying burdens up the mountain. The toils of the undertaking have been great, but I hope to reap a rich harvest in renewed health and vigor."

It was the pleasant season of the year. The weather was sufficiently cool to wear woolen clothing. The earth, refreshed with rain, had yielded abundance of fruit and vegetables. The churches had enjoyed a year of jubilee, and the schools flourished under the skillful hands of the graduates from the High School. Free from inward strife and outward oppression, we could worship under our own vine and fig tree, with none to molest or make us afraid.

Friends in the fatherland were enjoying this happiest of family festivals. There were twenty-five adults and thirty-two children at the station in Honolulu, and a proposition to unite in appropriate religious exercises and a Thanksgiving dinner, met with unanimous approval.

Each lady was to furnish such dishes as suited her taste and convenience, while the table arrangements were the portion of one individual. Our young friends, Mr. and Mrs. Jarves, were with us, and were constituted a committee on decorations. Evergreens were brought from the mountains, and converted into wreaths and festoons to adorn the walls. Shells, lava, and minerals were arranged in one corner to form a grotto. If the

tiny windows did not look really gothic, it was not the fault of the committee. The room was pronounced "splendid" by the juveniles of the party; and it is a matter of doubt if a peep at the old masters, in Mr. Jarves's new collection of paintings, would *now* afford them greater pleasure.

In laying the table, care was taken to procure crockery of one color (no easy task in those days), and the ladies vied with each other in producing the old-fashioned dishes (New England style) of chicken and pumpkin pie. Oranges and bananas took the place of apples. The children dined early by themselves, in an arbor in the garden, and had a merry time.

At three o'clock we had donned our best apparel, and sat down at the long table to enjoy a double feast. The past was reviewed, when we "came over Jordan with a staff, and had now become two bands." We read the 103d Psalm, and sang,—

"When all Thy mercies, O, my God."

The happiness of the elders was too calm, too deep to seek expression in a dance, but the children played "blind-man's buff," and "hunt the slipper," and I am sure we all felt better and more inclined to the routine of sober, every-day toil for this episode in missionary life.

I can not close this chapter without mentioning again the pleasure we have received from the repeated visits of the exploring expedition. Commodore Wilkes and Captain Hudson have lived on shore and been our neighbors. The latter attends our prayer meetings, and is an earnest Christian. We are deeply indebted to them both for many acts of kindness and friendship.

The other evening I had a look at the moon through the large telescope at the observatory, and it made me dream of the "wise who shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."

I must record a trick played on me by a native during the first residence of the officers on shore. He was employed at the observatory as an errand boy, and came every morning to me for a pitcher of fresh milk, which I was only too happy to furnish, as we had an abundance. As they were about leaving, this boy presented them with a bill for the milk, in my name, at twelve and a half cents per quart! He received the money and pocketed it, of course. The fraud was accidentally discovered during their second visit, and afforded me an opportunity to expose the rogue and exculpate myself from such meanness. Do you not think our people are making progress in civilized accomplishments? To my fourth son, born at this time, I have given the name of Wilkes, after our friend the Commodore.

Mr. and Mrs. Jarves are pleasant members of our household. Mr. Jarves is about to commence the publication of a newspaper in English, which is much needed in our rapidly increasing foreign community. He is a nephew of my dear aunt B——, of Sackett's Harbor memory. I love him for her sake, and esteem both very highly for their own intrinsic merits. Mrs. Jarves has a piano, and sings and plays well. Our children are fond of music, and you would laugh to see us all hang around her as she plays and sings "Woodman, spare that tree."

The recent death of Mrs. Munn left two little boys to be cared for, the younger of whom we have taken into our family, and with six of our own, have a merry household.

My husband's practice in the foreign community increases every day, and if our rules allowed him to receive pay for it, a day's earnings would support his family a week. It does not seem right to draw our support from the treasury of the A. B. C. F. M., when ample opportunity is afforded to take care of ourselves without abridging our usefulness to the nation or Mission. I have written to my friends to send me no more boxes of donations, but to turn their charities into more needy channels.

Some of the native churches are supporting their pastors and paying the school teachers. Lands and herds belonging to the Mission will soon be productive, and will make it independent of the Board for support. This is as it should be. "Let us provide things honest in the sight of all men."

XXVII.

The Belgian Contract—A Lease of all Unoccupied Lands—Object of the Lease—Mr. Brinsmade's Departure—Temperance at Lahaina—Plans of the Government—Departure of Richards and Haalilio—The English Consul Follows—Deputy Consul not Acknowledged—Commissions—Dr. Judd's Salary—One more Commission—Letter of Dr. Judd to the Mission—A Vote of Thanks—A Word of Change—What Mr. Brinsmade did.

1842.

CASTLE builders are found in every community; men of high purposes, gigantic plans, and benevolent intentions. They would elevate the low, employ the idle, educate the mass, and provide a panacea for all social evils.

A grand scheme for advancing the interests of the nation, but mainly for protection against the grasp of a foreign power, was secretly drawn up at Lahaina by Messrs. Richards and Brinsmade, and signed in due form by the king and premier. By this document all the unoccupied lands, including six mill sites for sugar plantations, were leased to Ladd & Co. for a term of fifty years, and no sale or transfer of lands between any other parties could take place until the completion of this contract. It was supposed that, the lands being thus alienated, the sovereignty of the islands would be of no value in the estimation of those whose schemes of forcible annexation were fast approaching completeness; but the idea, so prominent before the lease was signed, of

introducing as colonists none but such as by their example and influence would benefit the people of the islands, gave place, soon after the signature, to the purpose of effecting a sale of the lease wherever the best market should be found. Mr. Brinsmade took his departure for a market, leaving the king, the premier, and Mr. Richards extremely anxious for the consequences. Mr. Richards soon after followed Mr. Brinsmade.

The following extracts are from a letter of Dr. Judd:

"LAHAINA, *April* 27, 1842.

". . . . A grand Temperance Society was formed yesterday. The King, Haalilio, John Young, Kekauluohi, Kanaina, Keliiahonui, Paki, and Leleiohoku pledged themselves to total abstinence from all that can intoxicate.

"The first three had a hard struggle to come to the point, knowing as they do that it involves a great amount of moral courage in their intercourse with foreign officials. Therefore there is hope.

"The church, large as it is, was crowded. The king rising spoke first—said he liked the movement, had resolved to drink no more himself, and, as head of the nation, intended to be leader in this great reform.

"The chiefs are anxious that I should remain till their business affairs are settled. The present plan of husbanding the resources of the kingdom will enable them, if faithfully carried out, to extinguish the national debt in a few years. All the funds are to be committed to a board of officers, consisting of John Young, Haalilio, and myself. Of one thing you may be certain, I shall not consent to any arrangement which does not promise a greater sphere of usefulness."

Soon after the departure of Mr. Brinsmade with his lease of lands, the king was encouraged to send commissioners to Washington, London, and Paris, to try, if possible, to secure a better understanding with these governments, and obtain their acknowledgment of his

independence, as sovereign in his own kingdom, though a very small one.

Rev. William Richards and Haalilio were appointed on this important embassy. They were fitted out in a chartered schooner for Mazatlan. The arrangements were made so quietly, that people supposed they were destined to the island of Hawaii only. They reached the coast in safety and made haste to New York, *via* Mexico and New Orleans.

No sooner were the facts surmised, than the British Consul followed after the embassy, having previously forwarded letters to the English admiral on the Valparaiso station, complaining of the acts of the Hawaiian authorities, as oppressive and injurious to British subjects, and requesting a ship-of-war to aid him in obtaining justice. He left a deputy consul, vastly more subtle and difficult to deal with than himself. This deputy the king refused to receive as consul. Dr. Judd requested Mr. Richards to represent to our Boston patrons, the A. B. C. F. M., the reason why he left the Mission, and, as the king's business required haste, he accepted the following appointment from the king without waiting for their approval:

"Be it known to all men, that we appoint G. P. Judd, an American citizen, resident at Honolulu, Oahu, Hawaiian Islands, to be translator and recorder for the Government, agreeably with the law passed the 12th of May, 1842. In testimony whereof, we subscribe our names at Lahaina, this 15th day of May, 1842.

"[SEAL.] "(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA III.
KEKAULUOHI."

And the following Proclamation was made:—

"Be it known to all whom it may concern, that the Council of the kingdom have come to a definite agreement to set apart all

the Government property, from one end of the Islands to the other, for such business of the Government as shall be agreed upon, and for the payment of debts, in order that the debts of the kingdom may be canceled at once.

"They therefore nominate officers to receive and pay out moneys according to specific directions.

"We therefore hereby constitute you, Dr. G. P. Judd, Timothy Haalilio, and John Ii, a Treasury Board for the kingdom, and charge you to receive the poll tax, *poaha* money, and all money paid instead of the swine tax; also all money paid for criminal offences, the harbor dues and duties, the land rents, and all tax money, and every kind of property which can be made use of in paying Government debts.

"We also hereby charge all governors and all officers to give you timely notice respecting such money and such property, and then you will at your discretion leave it for awhile, or take it into your hands immediately.

"We furthermore charge you to execute this business promptly and faithfully, and in the month of April, 1843, render in writing a full account of all your doings.

"In testimony whereof we have subscribed our names at Lahania, Maui, this 10th of May, 1842.

"(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA III.
KEKAULUOHI."

The following letter was sent to Dr. Judd:

"LAHAINA, *May* 15, 1842.

"Salutations to you, G. P. Judd. You have been appointed Translator and Recorder for the Government, and for your support and that of your family, we consent that you be paid out of the Government money seven hundred and sixty dollars per annum, to commence from this day.

"Moreover, we instruct you to aid Governor Kekuanaoa in your official capacity, which relates to all business of importance between foreigners.

"(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA III.
KEKAULUOHI."

Later in the year Dr. Judd's duties were enlarged—*vide* the following:

"HONOLULU, *July* 18, 1842.

"Salutations to you, G. P. Judd. We hereby appoint you to be our officer, whose duty it is to collect correct information and report to Wm. Richards and Sir George Simpson, who are to act according to your words.

"(Signed), KAMEHAMEHA III.
KEKAULUOHI."

On leaving the missionary service Dr. Judd sent the following letter, addressed—

"*To the Members of the Sandwich Islands Mission, assembled at Honolulu:*

"DEAR BRETHREN: As my missionary career is about to close, for the present at least, and I am to remove from my pleasant home among you, I have some peculiar feelings which I take this method of expressing to you now assembled in council. I have lived and labored with some of you fifteen years. I have given to your service my best days, my energy and affection, and I do not sever my connection with you without great mental conflict. And did I not believe that the interests of the mission and the permanency of Gospel institutions were intimately connected with the political prosperity of the nation, I should not enter the Government service. I do not consider myself disloyal to you, though laboring in a different relation.

"I have doubtless erred in many instances, and do not feel confident of avoiding mistakes in the future, but I trust to your magnanimity and Christian love to overlook and forgive.

"I have crossed the rough channels and climbed the steep 'palis' by night and by day in prompt attendance upon your sick, never once consulting my own convenience or that of my family. I believe the brethren best acquainted with me will admit that I have not unduly sought my own. I have endeavored to maintain the strictest economy in all pecuniary transactions, bearing in mind the motto given by my father on parting with him: '*Never spend the hard-earned mite of the widow carelessly.*'

"I claim no share of mission property, not even a horse to ride, except in your service. I wish still to serve you in my profes-

sional capacity, as far as consistent with my new duties; if you require it, even to the sacrifice of my rest and sleeping hours.

"I will employ aid and superintend portioning out the medicines for the different stations and families, from the Medical Depository here, until you can command better service.

"I shall depend on your prayers and sympathy."

The members of the Mission voted thanks to Dr. Judd for his past services, and allowed him the rent of the house he occupied until he could make other arrange ments.

Haalilio left this Power of Attorney to Dr. Judd on his departure from the Islands:

"HONOLULU, OAHU, *July* 8, 1842.

"In case I go to a foreign land at any future time, I hereby appoint G. P. Judd to be my agent for the transaction of all my business. And I charge him to take all my property, all my receipts, and all my leases of lands, to collect the same for me. And to pay all my debts, and the remainder he is to keep for me, if I return, or my heir, if I do not return. And I will approve all the acts of my agent, G. P. Judd, which he may perform agreeably with this writing. T. HAALILIO."

Mr. Brinsmade did not find the desired capitalists in the United States, so he proceeded to Belgium, where he sold his lease of lands, mill sites, etc., to a Belgium joint stock company, took his pay in shares of said stock, and acting in concert with Mr. Richards, whom he met in Europe, made the king a large stockholder, with the liabilities of the company, subject to ratification at the Islands.

XXVIII.

G. P. Judd to the Envoy—Sir George Simpson's Views—About Lands—Extract from another Letter—The Lands Recorded—A Lawyer Wanted—Letters — Mr. Richards — Temperance — Tobacco Reform — The Great Commandment — The Government Commenced—Queen Pomare—A French Ship-of-War—A Narrow Escape—Letter to Mrs. L. on the training of Children.

EXTRACTS of letters from G. P. Judd to the Rev. William Richards, H. H. Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary:

"HONOLULU, *August* 8, 1842.

"I send you a copy of a letter just received from Sir George Simpson. I need not say you will read his letter with attention. For myself, I am forcibly impressed with some of his opinions. I think some of them, if carried out, would involve the nation in ruin. The encouragement recommended to be given to capitalists, however much it might benefit the country, would, I feel, at no distant period be the subversion of the present dynasty, unless their affairs could be directed by experienced foreigners.

"I very much fear the gentleman has been misled by the representation of others to conclude that the facilities which the Islands afford for such speculations are greater than they really are. You, sir, are aware, that with two or three exceptions, no large tract of land is unoccupied, and even those are stocked with cattle. Nor should the Government violate the rights of the people to please foreigners. Although the land might be more productive under new modes of agriculture, the people may not choose to adopt them, or leave the possession of them to strangers. And then what will be done? Do not, I beg of you, promise what ought not to be fulfilled, and what will bring disappointment or a claim for indemnity from the king or Government."

II.

"*May* 5, 1843.

". . . . I returned yesterday from Maui, after a month's absence, attending a council of the king and chiefs. At present I can only state that a record was made of all the lands owned by individuals throughout the kingdom, and a law passed that all leasing of land shall be done by proper officers of Government.

". . . . It took ten weeks to make a complete record of all the lands and the names of individuals attached to them. It appears that very little land belongs to the king personally; the chiefs, particularly Victoria, being by far the greatest owners.

"I fear you will not be here in season with your English lawyer to assist in the adjustment of our affairs. Pray come as soon as you can. Have you guarded the position of the king and Government in the Belgian Company, so that we shall not be responsible for the debts of the company in case of failure? I have much anxiety on that score. G. P. JUDD."

Mr. Richards has accomplished a great deal since he entered the Government service. The taxes are better regulated, and duties are defined somewhat between the rulers and ruled. We hope much from his foreign embassy, that, with the co-operation of Mr. Brinsmade, some of the pending disputes with the English will be settled, and the independence of the Hawaiian kingdom be acknowledged. I am sure, if any people on earth deserve favor, it is the Hawaiian.

Temperance laws are now triumphant, and the nation is a temperance nation, from the king on the throne down to the little children. All are collected into a "cold-water army." We have had a grand festival. *Fourteen hundred* children marched in procession with music and banners, dined together, made speeches, and hurrahed in the most approved style.

One needs to have lived among such a people, when there was no restraint upon the natural love for stimu

lants, and to have been a spectator of the excesses when a whole village was drunk. What pencil can portray the loathsome picture?

The king adheres to his pledge nobly, and appears to be fully aware that his temporal salvation depends upon it. We indulge in renewed hope that his soul will be saved. He appears sober and thoughtful, and is very attentive to religious services.

The tobacco reform creates great excitement. The natives of all classes are inveterate smokers. The pipe-lighter (a little boy) is an indispensable member of every aristocratic or respectable family, and is required to serve at all hours, day and night. The smoke is sometimes inhaled into the lungs and produces injurious effects.

Moral suasion and every effort to enlighten public opinion is loudly called for, but it seems rather overdoing the matter to make the disuse of the drug a test of discipleship. I asked a native inquirer the other day, which he thought the great commandment. He replied, *Mai puhi paka.* (Do not smoke tobacco). I asked him if he found it in the Bible. He supposed it was there, he said. I told him that to love God with all his heart and mind and soul, was the first and great commandment. It is always easier to do penance than to repent and believe on the Lord Jesus Christ.

We remain for a year in our old home, under the shade of trees our hands planted. How I shall grieve to leave a neighborhood of such pleasant associations, but it does not answer for pilgrims to make plans for permanence and say, "I shall die in my nest." Since the death of our first-born I feel this more than ever.

Dr. Judd has opened an office in town for public business, and attends at regular hours every day. A little space is cleared in the Augean stables. Some of the most im-

perious creditors are paid off, and several long standing disputes settled by the courts of the country. Dr. Judd is obliged to do all the writing in foreign transactions, as no natives can read and write English well enough. He hopes soon to secure the services of a thorough book-keeper for both languages. Foreigners look upon Government service as degrading, and will serve in a merchant's counting-room for less pay. We trust this state of things will not last always.

Righteousness exalteth a nation. A great effort is being made to withdraw the king from his gambling haunts and low company, and throw around his person a little dignity, as becomes the chief magistrate and sovereign. Long habit is powerful.

We seldom hear from the envoys. Mails are like angels' visits, few and far between. We watch the ocean in our anxiety to catch the first glimpse of a sail, and listen with suppressed breath for every item of news.

Mr. Brinsmade has started out here quite a number of people, who are anxiously waiting the success of his scheme and his return. I wish we could be persuaded it was the best thing for the nation, but our opinions are all to the contrary. A few may be aggrandized at the expense and ruin of the many.

We have lately heard of the seizure of Tahiti by the French, which increases our anxiety to get our affairs on a surer basis. The Tahitians had the Gospel thirty years before the Hawaiians, but have fallen a prey to their enemies. Poor Queen Pomare is dispossessed of power and property. The people are strongly attached to the Protestant faith, and numbers refuse submission to Roman Catholic masters, and have fled to the mountains. They will doubtless be hunted down and compelled to surrender.

A French ship-of-war touched here not long since, and made very serious charges against the Government, as not having kept the La Place treaty. When the commander learned that the king had sent commissioners to France to adjust these difficulties, he very quietly withdrew his charges and went to sea. A French resident, in the secret, tells us it was the intention to take possession of the islands and raise the French flag here, as well as at Tahiti.

We regard it as a narrow escape. The Lord does watch over His people, and will hear the cause of the poor and needy, who cry day and night unto Him. Our hope is in the sympathy and prayers of the people of God, in behalf of this struggling infant nation. Why can they not be let alone for a little while?

The following letter I preserve, as describing the difficulties of the missionary mother's duty to her children:

"HONOLULU.

"MY DEAR MRS. L.:—The Waialua messenger has just brought me your letter, and my sympathies are drawn toward you very tenderly.

'Woman's lot is on thee.'

"You are young and resolute, it is true, but you will soon find your strength is not the strength of iron. The constant care of your little ones, carrying about one in your arms as you do, when at your work, will overtax your powers, and you will sink under it. I know what it is by experience to watch the ills of infancy, to weep and pray over the first development of a depraved nature, the anxiety in guarding the little flock from surrounding evil, which often drinks up the spirits. Days of care and nights of watching—*I know them all.* There are no changes in our climate—no bracing winters to renew prostrated energy and renovate the constitution. When once down, there you must lie. There are no kind mothers, or sisters, or cousins to come over and spend a few weeks, to take charge of the little ones.

No, there is no relief for mothers, sick or well, even for a day or an hour.

"Are you an exception? Can you calculate upon strength to *nurse*, and *train*, and *educate* your children unaided? Now, my dear friend, let us consider the matter, and try to act wisely. Your husband helps you now. Oh, yes! It is a new thing, but young fathers are very apt *to use up* their real enthusiasm with the oldest child. And by the time the sons are four or five years old, and need a little guidance and instruction, 'Oh, there is so much business on hand,' and it is 'Really, my dear, you can do it a great deal better than I can.'

"Besides, I know some mothers, who are not willing to take their husband's time to perform nursery duties, which can be safely trusted to a native nurse under the mother's superintendence. Every hour which I might *reasonably* claim of my husband's aid in domestic care, and from which I excuse him, I regard as so much public work done by myself, and feel great pleasure in it."

"You object to native nurses. The native character is not all we wish in purity and judgment; yet among the mercies scattered through fourteen years, none elicits more gratitude than my *faithful native helpers*. Pali came to me just after my arrival. She was born a heathen, and narrowly escaped death at her mother's hands. She was young, wild, and untaught; now she can wash and iron infants' clothes without injury to the most delicate texture. She can feed, tend, bathe, and dress a very young child with more skill than many white mothers I could name. When the little ones are ill she sits by the cradle, watches, waits, and mingles her tears with mine, and prays to her God and my God for restoring mercy. She sits by me tending the baby now while I write, and I think our older children have learned much less of evil from her than is commonly acquired from servants in the most favored families in our own beloved native land. Now take my advice, divest yourself of prejudices, seek a woman, the best you can procure. Tell her your wishes, what you expect her to do. Teach her *patiently*, 'giving line upon line, precept upon precept: here a little, there a little;' you will succeed. Yours in like bonds, L. F. J."

XXIX.

Cession of the Islands to Great Britain—Arrival of the "Carysfort"—Revenge of the Deputy-Consul—Arrival of the King—Deputy acknowledged—More Demands—Dark Days—Many Men of many Minds—The King gives up—Flag changed—Islands governed by a Commission—King returns to Lahaina—G. P. Judd to Envoys—Arrival of the "Constellation"—Admiral Thomas arrives—He restores the Flag—The Ceremonies—United States Commissioner and English Consul-General.

1843.

IN February, 1843, an English man-of-war, the *Carysfort*, under command of Lord George Paulet, came into port. It had been ordered here by the admiral of the Pacific Squadron, from the misrepresentations of the English Consul, to redress alleged injuries done to Englishmen. It was now the time for the surly mastiff left as deputy to avenge himself upon the king and defenseless Government who had refused to acknowledge him. All intercourse with the resident authorities was refused, and a demand to see the king immediately presented. He was accordingly sent for from Lahaina. On his arrival, before he had time to change his sea apparel, an imperative demand was sent him to acknowledge the deputy-consul forthwith or prepare for the alternative—a broadside upon the town from the *Carysfort*. Eight hours of grace were granted for deliberation. The demand was acceded to, and Mr. Alexander Simpson was acknowledged as Her Britannic Majesty's representative in the Hawaiian kingdom. Then came the tug of war The august gentleman said, as did one of olden time,

Whereas my predecessor "chastised you with whips, I will chastise you with scorpions."

Daily interviews with the king were demanded, and granted, only to pour upon him insult upon insult. Decisions in the courts were required to be reversed; claims to large tracts of valuable land to be confirmed; and a great amount of hypothetical damages demanded. The king was neither judge nor constable, and was utterly ignorant of the facts in many of the cases brought before him; his knowledge of English was imperfect, and the properly-appointed translator and interpreter was treated as obnoxious. The demands which the defenseless king was obliged to acknowledge, ran up in a few days to about eighty thousand dollars, quite enough to cripple the nation. The ship-of-war was brought around, so that the mouths of her guns yawned continually upon the town.

Ah, those were dark days! The intention was sufficiently clear to rob the treasury, by extorting large sums of money, and compel the king to yield his sovereignty, to prevent it (they said among themselves) from falling into the hands of the French. The sympathies of the whole foreign community were with the king; but unfortunately each had a separate plan to propose. Some said: "Don't yield a single iota; let them fire." Others asked, "In that case, who will pay for the American property thus destroyed?" One proposed a cession of the Islands to the United States and France *pro tem.* Another inquired, "Will the United States Government accept and protect, and the French ever relinquish their hold, if once in possession?"

The interest of some of us was identified with that of the nation; with it we must live or die. The king and chiefs broke down; and after a night of prayer and

deliberation, the king said: "I will not die by piecemeal, they may cut off my head at once. I will yield the breath of my kingdom, and trust to my commissioners in London and to the magnanimity of the British Government to redress the wrong and restore my rights."

Preliminaries were arranged with the belligerent party for a cession of the Islands, under protest; and on Saturday afternoon at three o'clock, on February 25, 1843, the Hawaiian flag we loved so well, was lowered in the Fort, and an English one run up in its place and saluted by the batteries of the Fort and the guns of the *Carysfort.* English soldiers marched into the Fort and the band played "God save the Queen," and "Isle of Beauty, fare thee well." The latter was played by the request of some lady friends of Lord George, and regarded by us as a refined cruelty, which could only ema nate from a woman.

For five long months we ground in the prison-house, like poor blind Samson. After the cession my husband came home and threw himself down, utterly exhausted in body and mind, after the sleepless week of fasting and torture. I sat by him two hours, ransacking heart and brain for arguments of consolation. There was no stain on his character; he had committed no crime. No blood had been shed. He had done his best, and what more could be required? I advised him to lie down in the arms of a kind Heavenly Father, and in good time he would come forth with new strength for the conflict; and it was so.

A commission was formed for the government of the Islands, consisting of Lord George Paulet, one of his officers, Lieutenant Frere, and G. P. Judd, the king's deputy. One of the Government schooners was immediately dispatched to bear the news to the admiral at

Valparaiso. Dr. Judd was retained in the financial department and left in possession of the Government papers. The king and premier returned to Maui. Every avenue of communication with the king or foreign countries was most jealously watched and guarded by his lordship, in order to prevent any statement of affairs derogatory to his own from being sent abroad.

Dispatches, prepared in the silence of midnight in the royal tomb, with Kaahumanu's coffin for a table, were sent off in canoes from distant points of the island; and once, when the king's signature was required, he came down in a schooner and landed *incog.* at Waikiki, a neighboring village, at twilight, read and signed the prepared documents, and was on his way back across the channel, while his lordship was dining and having a pleasant time with his friends.*

This lasted some three months, when Dr. Judd, finding the conditions of the cessions were disregarded by the other members of the commission, protested and withdrew the king from all further participation in their councils.

Extracts from letters to the king's commissioners, Messrs. Richards and Haalilio:

". . . . His lordship has enlisted soldiers (natives), which he calls the 'Queen's Regiment,' and put them upon regular pay; also a police corps, at an expense of $713 per month, and on his return from Maui last week brought an order to me (sealed, of course), from the king and premier, to pay no more money on that account. This I communicated to the commissioners, when the *Carysfort* hoisted sail again for Maui. Another letter

* On this occasion Mr. James F. B. Marshall was commissioned to join Messrs. Haalilio and Richards, the king's commissioners in London, and was sent off *incognito* (in the same vessel that carried the British consul) with the dispatches above referred to.

from the king, in which he positively prohibits me from paying any more money to the soldiers. I received also from the commissioners a demand to pay *instantly*, or they will put another person into the treasury office. This letter was brought me by Lieutenant Frere, in full uniform, with sword drawn. Of course I was obliged to comply."

The archives were carefully removed from the office and deposited in the royal tomb. Another quarterly pay-day was just at hand. On the refusal of money it was expected that his lordship would take possession of the treasury and demand the papers.

Commodore Kearny, in the United States ship-of-war *Constellation*, arrived with a rumor that the United States Government had recognized the independence of the Hawaiian Government, and had appointed a commissioner to treat with our sovereign, as in other kingdoms.

This news inspired some courage.

We had just arisen from family devotions one morning, where we had been pleading for the prostrate nation, in the hands of those who were crushing out its vitality, and trampling in the dust its best interests, when we were startled by the native cry of "sail ho!" An immense man-of-war hove in sight, floating the flag of an English rear-admiral of the white. What was his errand? Had he brought relief, or had he come to declare our bondage perpetual? We held our very breath to await the answer.

Admiral Thomas landed and requested an immediate interview with the native authorities. The first glimpse of his mild, benevolent face inspired confidence. Negotiations were not difficult. The admiral, who had ordered the *Carysfort* here, was evidently pained at the course pursued, and anxious to restore the king. Lord George had destroyed every Hawaiian flag he could find, flatter

ing himself they would never again be called for. The admiral had a new one made on board the *Dublin* expressly for the restoration ceremony.

It was on Saturday, July 31, a little more than five months after the cession or seizure, that the marines from the *Dublin*, *Carysfort*, and other English ships, under their respective officers, were ordered to be on the parade ground on the plain, in full uniform, at eight o'clock A.M., under Lieutenant Frere. A pavilion was erected for the ladies. Foreign residents of all classes, missionaries, and thousands of natives assembled at an early hour. Admiral Thomas preceded the king in the carriage of the latter. When the king, on horseback, arrived upon the ground, the admiral gave him a salute of twenty-one guns from the field artillery of the squadron. Lord George was not present.

At a signal given, the English flag-officer advanced toward the king, surrounded by his guards, bowed his colors most gracefully, while the splendid Hawaiian standard was unfurled, and, as the breeze caught its ample folds, displaying the dove and olive branch in the center, the guns from the *Carysfort* fired first, then the *Dublin*, and the other English ships, followed by two American ships-of-war. Each poured forth a salute of twenty-one guns, which was responded to by the fort and battery of old Punch-bowl. The roar and reverberations were loud and long, and one would think the royal slumberers in the adjacent tomb might be startled in their long sleep. As the cannons ceased, thousands of human voices mingled in one patriotic cheer. Men and boys, black, white, and red, shouted themselves hoarse, as the king returned from the plain. The king and chiefs proceeded to the stone church, where, in the midst of the great congregation, they gave thanks to their God for deliverance from a foreign yoke.

The admiral took up his abode on shore, after sending the *Carysfort* and *Dublin* to sea, and awaited the approval of the Home Government. He took a lively interest in establishing order in legitimate hands, and assisted in advancing the best interests of the people, as well as establishing court rules and etiquette.

In the meantime an American commissioner arrived and an English consul-general, so that, with the French, and four other foreign representatives, there was quite a diplomatic corps in the metropolis of Honolulu.

XXX.

My First Diplomatic Dinner—Our New Home—A Daughter Born under the English Flag—Why the Hawaiian Flag was Restored—My Husband Ill—John Ricord—Secretary of Foreign Affairs—The Soldiers Pardoned—Restoration Party—The Census Improvements—Mr. Damon—The New Palace—Restoration Anthem.

1843.

ADMIRAL THOMAS had taken the lead in a round of diplomatic dinner parties, and it belonged to us to follow. There was a difficulty; we were pledged to the sovereign and subjects on the temperance question. Commissioner Brown, an earnest advocate of the temperance reform, persuaded us that the time had come when public opinion would sustain us in giving an entertainment without wine, and moreover it was a duty to do so. Moral courage was a noble virtue, and he was sure the admiral would approve, although of course he had never dined without wine in his life, and probably would be uncomfortable without it.

He was therefore consulted, and expressed his approval. The invitations were explicit. It was to a cold-water entertainment to which the guests were invited, and they were quite at liberty to accept or decline accordingly.

The corps at this time included the king and high chiefs of the land, the English admiral, the American commissioner, the consuls of Great Britain, France, United States, Peru, and Bremen—fourteen in all.

Duty once decided, no pains or expense was to be spared

in making the dinner the best the realm afforded. The services of Monsieur Guéval, a prodigy in the art *culinary*, were secured. The table linen was fine and spotless. The silver was borrowed from the ample stores of the governor. Handsome porcelain, glass-ware, and beautiful vases of flowers adorned the table. The guests arrived and were duly seated, according to the approved code of etiquette, the oldest in office taking the precedence. This was a matter of very delicate adjustment in our little court, for any fault or mistake was sure to give serious offense.

The soup was good—the fish, the finest and fattest from the royal ponds. The rice and curry were good enough for the Great Mogul. Roast beef, mutton, boned-turkey, ham, ducks, chickens, salads (hot and cold), lobster, game, omelets, patties, puddings, pies, almond pastry, fruit, nuts and raisins, crackers and cheese followed each other in due order, all faultless. But the waiters were slow. It seemed a life-time between the courses. I tasked my brain for sprightly sayings. The admiral was cheerful, but it was plain he missed his wine. His secretary had cramps in his stomach; cold water always produced that effect upon him, and he could eat nothing after his soup. I had half a mind to go to the medicine chest and get a glass of wine for him, but there sat our sovereign and chiefs, and I would not set wine before them for a kingdom.

Three hours dragged their slow length along, and the cloth was removed for tea and coffee, but the admiral excused himself, as his hour for an evening walk had arrived. Others followed, in haste for antidotes against the cold water that was chilling them. A few remained and made themselves sufficiently merry and agreeable with drinks that "cheer, but not inebriate."

When all the guests had retired, I sat down to reflect, half mortified, half vexed. Can it be possible, I thought, that high-bred gentlemen, of intellect and education, are so dependent upon artificial stimulants, that they can not relish a good dinner without them? Are the wit and the fine sayings at the social board of great men nothing but the sparkling effervescence of champagne, and are fine spirits the spirits of the distillery only?

We were happy to receive afterward the full approval of the admiral, who assured us that such a course was the only proper one, and would secure the happiest results, although he had at first regarded the principle of total abstinence as an *ultra* measure.

HONOLULU, *October*, 1843.

The die is cast—we have left our pleasant home in the Mission premises and moved into a furnished stone house of the premier, adjoining the palace. The old lady has not occupied it since the death of her sister, Kinau, who was laid in state in this drawing-room for six weeks. Prince David, the eldest of Kinau's sons, died here also. The pupils in the royal school near us assure our children that the house is haunted, and wonder how we can bring our minds to live in it, affirming we shall surely see ghosts.

The high ceiling, large windows, and papered walls afford such a contrast to our little cottage, that I feel like a traveler at a hotel, or on board a finely-furnished steamer—a mere lodger for the night. The situation is cooler than at the Mission, and commands the sweet breeze from the valley. The upper room is a fine place for school, where I spend an hour and a half each morning with the children. They are allowed to attend the royal school in the afternoon, which is quite agree-

able to Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, as well as to their royal pupils. It is so near that I can over-look the play-ground from the window where I am writing.

We have named our youngest, born March 16, 1843 under the English flag, after my dear mother, to which name we have added Augusta, for our much esteemed Mrs. H——, to whom I am indebted for much kindness.

As to the termination of the English contest, Admiral Thomas supposed that some great wrong had been done to English subjects here, and sent Lord George Paulet to inquire, with express orders to put himself at the command of the English consul. But when tidings reached him of the seizure of the islands, Admiral Thomas lost no time in hastening to the rescue, as I have said.

The long-expected Belgians do not come to claim lands, build mills, and make us all rich. The English accuse the Government of partiality in granting such an immense monopoly to Americans, and they have reason on their side.

The barque *Columbia*, from Columbia River, arrived a few days ago and brought a young lawyer, J. Ricord, Esq., from New York State. Dr. Judd, though confined to his room, sent for him immediately, hoping to secure his services for the present, at least. He has a fine address, and is very good looking, is well educated and of French extraction. I feel as if a kind Providence had sent him just now to save my husband's life, for I am quite sure he can not sustain such a load of toil and responsibility much longer without assistance.

On the arrival of Mr. Brown, the American commissioner, Dr. Judd was appointed Secretary of Foreign Affairs, as he says in a letter to Mr. Richards, which I must quote, it is so characteristic:

"*December*, 1843.

". . . . You will have heard, ere this, that I am appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. This seemed necessary for the present, in order to do business with Mr. Brown. I, of course, take the bull by the horns. I do not like the office."

The king and premier have removed from Lahaina to this place. I wish I could adequately describe a scene that occurred in our large upper room the day after the flag was restored, when the native officers, who held commissions under Lord George, and drilled troops for the service of Her Britannic Majesty, came to receive the king's pardon. Most of them were the companions of his childhood and his personal attendants. They forsook him in his adversity for what they considered the popular side; they were traitors, of course, and might have been hanged for treason.

As they came up-stairs, one by one, and kneeled before him, and he extended his hand in token of pardon and forgiveness, I could see the struggle it cost him to restrain himself and keep back the big tears that were blinding him.

They made the king a grand supper a few evenings since in the rooms so lately occupied by the British commission. These rooms belong to Haalilio, and will be occupied soon by Mr. Ricord. Toasts were given—in cold water, of course—and were not the less hearty on that account. The king continues true to his temperance pledge. John Young's sentiment was so original I must give it you:

"To the Hawaiian flag, which was lowered under a mistaken idea, as the ends of the lanyards are in the hands of the king's envoys in England."

I repeated it to the admiral, who seemed to enjoy it exceedingly.

I have not time to give a description of the Restoration party given by Mrs. H——, wife of the American Consul, assisted by Com. Jones and Capt. Stribling, of the American navy. The supper-table, spread in a long arbor, was decorated in a very tasteful manner, and the fine band from the ship-of-war *United States* was in attendance. Grave and gay promenaded to the national air of "God save the King." Dancing was deferred until ten o'clock, when the older guests took leave.

Notwithstanding the disturbances of the past year, there have been some improvements. Streets have been widened and planted with rows of trees and a few handsome stores and dwellings have been erected by foreign residents. Carriages are becoming quite common, and oxen are fast taking the place of human teams. The census has just returned the number of inhabitants in Honolulu as nine thousand, one thousand of whom are foreigners, representing fifteen different nations. Gov. Kekuanaoa is a kind of mayor, and keeps this heterogeneous mass in order. Eleven ships-of-war have visited this port during the year, five of them American, five English, and one French.

Public opinion improves, particularly in regard to the temperance question. Mr. Damon, our beloved Mr. Diell's successor in the seamen's chaplaincy, is an ardent temperance man, and his influence in the good cause is felt among seamen and strangers who visit us. This principle seems to be the very foundation of our national prosperity.

A few words about the new palace. The building is of coral, and contains a double drawing-room and two other rooms divided by a hall. It was built by the governor for his little daughter Victoria, but purchased for the king as a temporary residence. The sofas, bedstead,

tables, and clock-case are carved from the native mahogany by a German cabinet-maker. The grounds adjoin those of the premier, where we live, and are tastefully laid out and planted with young trees. It is a great pleasure to assist in purchasing and arranging center-tables, vases, chandeliers, etc.

A guard stands at the gate, and people are required to send in their names before admittance, which we hope will prevent the rabble from access to the king, as heretofore, with every petty concern, as if he were a constable or justice of the peace.

Dr. Judd has purchased and put up for the king a handsome billiard table, so he need not be tempted to seek amusement beyond his own premises. He is passionately fond of the game, and is said to be very skillful in it. We are ready to contrive anything that is innocent to withdraw him from low associates.

Haalilio will be appointed chamberlain on his return. He has refined tastes naturally, and improved by his foreign travels, will appreciate the improvements in the royal household.

I copy the "Restoration Anthem," composed by E. O. Hall, and sung at the picnic given by the king to the admiral in Murami Valley:

TUNE—"*God save the King.*"

"HAIL to our rightful King!
We joyful honors bring
This day to thee.
Long live your majesty;
Long reign this dynasty;
And for posterity
The sceptre be.

"Hail to the worthy name,
Worthy his country's fame,
Thomas the brave.

Long shall thy virtues be
Shrined in our memory,
Who came to set us free,
Quick o'er the wave.

"Hail to our Heavenly King!
To Thee our thanks we bring,
Worthy of all.
Loud we Thine honors raise;
Loud be our song of praise;
Smile on our future days,
Sovereign of all."

XXXI.

Letter of President Tyler—A Declaration—William Richards to G. P. Judd—Mr. Brinsmade's Letter—Prospects of Failure—Sir Geo. Simpson's Letter—Belgian Hopes and Promises—Admiral Thomas' Parting Address—Parting Salutations—Ship of State fairly Launched—Mr. Ricord—Mr. Wyllie—Dr. Judd—Mr. Richards' Return—Mourning for Haalilio—Leleiohoku—Death of Gov. Adams; his Effects—A Struggle—Haalilio—Death of Auhea; her History.

OFFICIAL letter from President Tyler to His Hawaiian Majesty:

"*To His Majesty Kamehameha III., King of the Hawaiian Islands:*

"GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND:—I have received a letter and accompanying documents, which your Majesty addressed to me on the 31st of July last, announcing that in consequence of proceedings of Rear-Admiral Thomas, Commander-in-chief of Her Britannic Majesty's naval force in the Pacific, the flag of your country has been restored to you with all the honors due to the sovereign of a free and independent State.

"I congratulate your Majesty upon this event, and trust that it may be the occasion of continuing and confirming the independence and prosperity of the Hawaiian Islands, and of contributing to the tranquillity of your Majesty's reign.

"I pray God to have your Majesty in His holy keeping.

"Written at Washington the 20th day of November, 1843.

"Your good friend, JOHN TYLER.

"By the President.

"A. P. UPSHUR, *Sec'y of State.*"

"DECLARATION.

"HER MAJESTY, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the King of the French,

taking into consideration the existence in the Sandwich Islands of a Government capable of providing for the regularity of its relations with foreign nations, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to consider the Sandwich Islands as an Independent State, and never to take possession, either directly or indirectly, under title of Protectorate, or under any other form, of any part of the territory of which they are composed.

"The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Ambassador Extraordinary of His Majesty the King of the French, at the Court of London, being furnished with the necessary powers, hereby declare in consequence that their said Majesties take reciprocally that engagement.

"In witness whereof, the undersigned have signed the present declaration, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

"Done in duplicate at London, the 28th day of November, 1843.

"(Signed,) ABERDEEN.

"ST. AULAIRE."

Extract of a letter from Mr. Richards to Dr. Judd:

". . . . We have had the untiring aid of Mr. Brinsmade, not only in making out our originals of the communications to the Foreign Office, but he has spent days and nights in copying for us.

"Should there be any failure in the accomplishment of our plans in Belgium, so that he should not receive recompense from that source, he will in such case be entitled to a handsome reward from Government for the aid he has rendered. In relation to the operations of Mr. B. I can say, that last week we had definite promises from heavy capitalists, and if any reliance can be placed in the most business-like men in Belgium, all will be satisfactorily arranged in a week. But we have fully learned to consider *words as nothing*, till they are written on paper—particularly those which relate to time. In this last respect they are as bad in France and Belgium as they are in Hawaii."

Extract from Mr. Brinsmade's letter to Mr. Judd, dated London, September 14, 1844:

". . . . I hope myself to see you soon after you receive this, as I am fully determined that I will not remain much longer in

Europe. No person can tell how much I have suffered during the last year and a half from the anxieties and uncertainties attending my movements.

"But hoping to have some long evenings for reviewing the scenes which have transpired during our separation, I shall remain, with unabated regard for you and yours, and all that concerns you, Faithfully, Your friend and servant,

"P. A. BRINSMADE."

From Sir George Simpson to Mr. Richards:

"LONDON, *November* 29, 1844.

"I found Mr. Brinsmade in London, on my arrival, at St. Paul's Coffee House, and still clinging to Belgium hopes and promises. It has, for the past twelve months, been quite evident that nothing tangible would arise out of these negotiations, and I believe he has broken off further communication.

"Mr. Brinsmade pressed me very much to assist him in getting up a joint stock company in this country (England), with a view to the sale of his privileges from the Hawaiian Government, and to the establishment of an import and export trade with the Islands; but I considered it too visionary to be entertained for a moment, and I declined taking any active part in the matter."

Address of Admiral Thomas:

"I have the honor to congratulate your Majesty upon the arrival of Consul-General Miller. He is the bearer of those assurances of friendship from my sovereign, which I had the pleasure to anticipate and of conveying to your Majesty in July last.

"I am grateful in being allowed this opportunity of expressing to your Majesty how highly I appreciate the attention which has been shown to me during my residence of upwards of six months at Honolulu. And I have now the honor to take leave of your Majesty, with an earnest hope that my visit to your dominions, and the permanent residence of a diplomatic agent from my sovereign, may be the happy means of closer uniting our respective countries by ties of amity and commercial advantage.

"May the Divine Providence be pleased to bless your Majesty with health, and grant you to witness for many years the increasing happiness and prosperity of your subjects.

"RICHARD THOMAS."

Extract from the *Polynesian*:*

"Agreeably to a general invitation a number of the foreign residents assembled on the evening of February 26, at the house of Dr. Judd, to tender their parting salutations to Admiral Thomas. The guests assembled at eight o'clock, and as the admiral entered the avenue the whole house was suddenly illuminated, so that darkness was turned to day.

"His Excellency the Governor, Consul-General Miller, the United States Commissioner, the American, French, and Peruvian consuls, several English naval officers, foreign residents, ladies and gentlemen, the families of the American Mission, and the school of the young chiefs were present.

"The utmost ease, cheerfulness, and kind feeling were manifested. The admiral and suite were in high spirits.

"An address was made to the admiral by the American consul, Mr. Hooper, in behalf of the residents; and before he could reply, many rich and mellow voices joined in a farewell song prepared for the occasion, which was followed by 'Home, sweet home.' Those who were present will not soon forget the interesting and deeply exciting scenes attendant upon the farewell salutations to Admiral Thomas."

From this period we may consider the ship of State fairly launched, and her independence acknowledged by three great nations.

Mr. Ricord proved himself a man of talent and an indefatigable worker, crowding the labors of years into months. He prepared a new code of laws, and organized the Government into distinct departments—the foreign, financial, interior, and educational—the last destined for Mr. Richards on his return.

Long pending disputes were yet undecided; and as the Government had been recognized "as capable of sustaining its relations with foreign powers," it was neces-

* A newspaper published in Honolulu, edited by Mr. James Jackson Jarves.

sary to shoot ahead and anticipate the march of the native mind, in order to cope with foreign skill and intrigue.

Dr. Judd resigned his office as Minister or Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and R. C. Wyllie, Esq., a Scotch gentleman, who came in the suite of Consul-General Miller, was appointed to fill it. Dr. Judd was obliged to fill the office of Minister of the Interior, as well as that of Minister of Finance, and to control all the departments, as the king and chiefs held him responsible for the acts of all the other officers of Government.

In the midst of the high pressure, in settling unjust and fraudulent claims to large tracts of valuable land, and other vexed matters of law of long standing, there were people found weak enough to stir up discontent among the people, and excite their suspicion and jealousy against the white men employed in Government offices, particularly at Lahaina, where perhaps there might have been a little *pique* on the removal of the Court from that place to Honolulu.

One Sunday morning in March, 1845, we heard the king's voice calling to us from his veranda and saying, "Mr. Richards has returned, but Haalilio is dead."

A letter to Mrs. Bingham from Mrs. Judd:

"HONOLULU, *March* 24, 1845.

"MY DEAR MRS. BINGHAM:—Captain Snow, in the *Montreal*, arrived yesterday morning, returning Mr. Richards in health and safety, and, sad to tell, the lifeless remains of our dear Haalilio. Our very hearts bled, we so longed to greet him again in his own native land, for his own sake, for the love we bore him, and then we had so many cherished plans, in which his accomplishments, enriched by observation during his three years' travel, were to be turned to great account. The new palace finished and furnished, the grounds laid out, the king and queen assuming a

position calculated to secure respect, every arrangement made to place Haalilio at his post by the king's side as chamberlain—but alas! alas! our hopes are laid in dust. I wish you could have been with us yesterday morning at the palace when Mr. Richards arrived. All the chiefs, old and young, numbering thirty, assembled for prayer. It was an intensely sad and interesting scene to us all. The king is perfectly heart-broken, and mourns as David for Jonathan.

"Why did not you and Mr. Bingham return with them? The people are disappointed, as they had been encouraged to expect you with Captain Snow. How glad, how very glad we are to welcome back Mr. Richards. He looks well. Mrs. R. is at Lahaina, and Mr. R. goes for her this evening. I trust all the bitterness of their long separation will soon be forgotten in their happy reunion.

"Death is making sad inroads among the rulers and the Mission also. Your old friend Governor Adams is gone. He left his property to Alexander, Leleiohoku, and his Kanaka agent. Auhea* laid claim to a lion's share. Poor woman! how soon she followed him to the 'silent land.' John Young is appointed premier in her place, and will do much better. You know how it was—she had the office, and honor, and pay, too, but Dr. Judd had to do her work.

"Leleiohoku has signed the temperance pledge, but it is hard work to keep it after so long indulgence. He is to forfeit his fine schooner (his pet) if he breaks his pledge. He has resigned himself into the hands of Dr. Judd, as a dutiful child, and says he is his only friend. It is true, the king and old chiefs have been rather severe in threatening to deprive him of rank as well as property. But then he behaved very badly when he drank, you know. He struck the king and would have killed him, if not prevented. He has had a very severe fever, and in his delirium would submit to no one but the doctor.

"Old Governor Adams's things were brought down here from Kailua and sold at auction, instead of being thrown into the sea, as you have witnessed on similar occasions. It was a curious medley, such heaps of old military coats, broadcloth and flannels, mouldy and moth-eaten, silk, crape, nankeen, bombazine, damask

*Auhea, Kekauluohi—mother of Lunalilo.

and velvets all dropping to pieces—material enough to clothe all the people of his village. He left also quite a sum of ready money, which Auhea claims, and very properly, perhaps. She pacified her conscience by giving one thousand dollars of it to support the native schools.

"You can perhaps have some idea of the political turmoil among us. It is the same old story, except that the new Government, with its naturalized white officers, takes the place of the missionaries between the nation and its enemies. It is very discouraging. Every inch of ground, every prerogative for the king, as an independent sovereign, has to be fought for. While unjust claims to large portions of land, and undue influence in the native courts by foreign officers, are being warded off with one hand, the other is just now needed against an attack from disaffected natives, with our good David Malo at their head. He was always a radical. Then again some of our dear friends are afraid we shall *not be able to bear so much prosperity*. How little we know, sometimes, of what is passing in each other's hearts, or sympathy instead of censure would be called forth.

"It seems that Haalilio died December 3d, two weeks after leaving Boston. He was inclined to pulmonary affections. His health improved as he traveled, and he had borne the cold of the two northern winters, but those November winds off our coast were too much for him. What a pity Mr. Richards could not have sailed earlier. It was the desire of his heart, he said to Mr. R., to see his country once more, to embrace his beloved king and aged mother, then he could die without regret. He was baptized, as he requested, a few days before his death. His last breath was a prayer for his king and country. You, my dear sister, his first instructor, will join us in lamenting his early death, for his sun went down while it was yet day. With our united 'aloha' to all your beloved household,

"I am yours, etc."

Extracts from the *Polynesian:*

"In the spring of 1845 a most distressing influenza visited the Islands, prostrating with acute suffering all classes of the population. June 7th, Kekauluohi, the premier, was attacked and died after a short illness.

"In early life she was betrothed to Pomare, the former king of Tahiti, and had his life been prolonged, it is quite probable she would have been sent to him.

"She was married to Kamehameha I., although he was her mother's husband! And she was afterward the wife of his son, Kamehameha II.

"As she possessed a retentive memory, she was selected by Kamehameha I. as a repository of ancient lore, which consisted in genealogies, historic legends, songs, and proverbs.

"Her education was in the hands of vigorous teachers, who required her close attention many hours a day for several years.

"Kekauluohi was strongly attached to the old feudal customs of the country, but was nevertheless not blind to its evil tendencies, and never withheld her consent to the liberal measures of reform, which have of late characterized the government of the Islands.

"She early gave attention to religious instruction, and made a public profession of her faith in Christ in 1828. Having received a large bequest from her relative, Gov. Adams, of Hawaii, she consecrated one-tenth of it to religious purposes.

"After the departure of Liholiho for England, she was married to Charles Kanaina, and leaves a son ten years old, William Lunalilo, a promising boy and pupil in the Royal School.

"Her father's name was Kalaimamahu, who was the son of Keoua, who was the son of Keeaumaku, who was the son of Keawe.

"Being the last adult member of so high a family and the guardian of numerous dependents, she leaves a large circle to mourn her death and their irretrievable loss."

XXXII.

King resides at Honolulu—Furnishing a Palace—The Queen—Going to Church—Rivalry—Our Removal—Boarders—Politics in the Family—Trouble with George Brown—Trouble Generally—Mr. Richards' Troubles—Visit of Sir Geo. F. Seymour—Agitation at Lahaina—The King to Petitioners—King's Addresses—John Young's Addresses—The Oath of Allegiance—The Native Government Supreme.

AFTER the removal of the king and queen to their new residence, some attention has been required to arrange their household.

It is the custom of the chiefs to keep crockery, table-linen, silver, etc., packed away in bundles and distributed among their attendants, to be forthcoming when called for, which is only on great occasions, as they usually eat fish and poi served in a very simple manner, requiring little else than a calabash, fish dishes, and finger bowls. The king has now a table spread regularly for breakfast and dinner, under the supervision of a well-trained English steward and purveyor.

I have had some amusement as well as labor in collecting together old silver teapots, cups, pitchers, glasses, candlesticks, India shades, spoons, knives and forks; and as one mysterious bundle after another has been opened from its numerous folds of kapa, in watching the jealous eyes of the old servants, who look on with wonder and question if I can be so disinterested in the matter as to scour and rub and wash in such a way, just for the sake of making the king more respected, as well as more com-

fortable. They see me removing rubbish and planting trees and flowers, and ask me if I am going to take them away by and by when we move.

The queen is fine-looking, but has had few advantages of improvement. She was married to her royal husband very young, and he has always kept her as close as a Turk. My daughters assist in arranging her wardrobe. She has laid aside her glowing reds and high-colored shawls, of which she was so fond, and looks very pretty in straw-colored satin, with hat, feathers, ribbons, flowers, and gloves to match.

We always call for and go with them to church, which secures regular attendance. There was some difficulty in arranging suitable seats for their Majesties, as it is not Hawaiian etiquette for any one to sit above the king. In olden time to climb a tree or housetop under which a chief sat, incurred the penalty of death. The galleries in the church seated the common people over the head of the king. There was some strong feeling upon the subject among some of the old chiefs and their retainers, but the king ended the difficulty by saying: "Old things are passed away. I prefer a place near the pulpit and by a window, so as to have fresh air. I do not care who is in the galleries, if they do not break through." This pew is cushioned, and the window draped with orange and crimson satin, with conveniences for hymn-books and Bibles. The king has a fine voice and is fond of sacred music.

The old premier was a little jealous of the queen, being her superior by birth, and when I made purchases for them, I was always obliged to allow the old lady the first choice. She always wanted her sash a little longer and her bows a little larger than the queen's. And because the latter was young and had pretty hair, which

she wore in ringlets, why, the dear old premier must have hers curled too, which made her a little ridiculous, yet she was really good and tried to be an exemplary Christian.

I have told you how we rented her house, with a written agreement that we might keep it as long as we wished, as she would never occupy it after the death of her sister. But when the king moved into a new house and everything looked so stylish and comfortable, she changed her mind and wanted her house again; besides, we had dispelled the ghosts.

The governor in his kindness fitted up another place for us, and we vacated in her favor. Our new house is not so nice as hers, but in some respects we like it better. The yard is full of rubbish and ruins of adobe walls and pig-sties, and we shall have the pleasure for the *fourth time* of pulling up thistles and planting roses.

Mr. Ricord, now the attorney-general; Mr. C. G. Hopkins, an English law student, sent out at the suggestion of Mr. Richards; and Mr. R. C. Wyllie, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, are boarders in our family. This brings a good deal of company, and still more politics, into the family circle, which are not the best things for young minds. I often question if it is my duty to remain much longer at such a painful post of observation. When the independence of the nation was secured and the heavy debts paid off, we hoped for peace, but the hope was vain. No sooner is the Government out of one difficulty than it is involved in another.

The American commissioner has thrown down the gauntlet now and a fierce paper war is progressing between him and the attorney-general. Both lose their temper. The commissioner threatens and raves; has interdicted all intercourse between the officers of the

American men-of-war and those of the Government, extending the ban to even the families.

He made a great dinner on the "glorious Fourth," to which he invited every American woman in the place, with the exception of Mrs. William Paty and myself, whose husbands unfortunately belonged to the obnoxious Government, and had taken the oath of allegiance to His Hawaiian Majesty. At evening he sent a fine band of music from a ship-of-war to serenade all the ladies, with special orders to pass us by. But as he did not put cotton in our ears, we enjoyed every note of it notwithstanding the interdict.

The Belgian contract was a very unfortunate affair, and gives rise to endless quarrels and disputes, and has alienated warm friends. And the end is not yet. Mr. Richards feels the responsibility, as he helped draw the plan and signed the contract in Europe, which bound the king and Government, though Haalilio refused his signature. My husband has put his shoulders to the wheel to help him out, thereby heaping upon himself a great deal of odium from parties interested.

Admiral Seymour, of Her Majesty's service, has lately made us a visit, insisting upon an immediate settlement of Mr. Charlton's land claim. Almost everybody in Honolulu believes the claim unjust and the papers dishonestly drawn up. They were not presented until after the death of the principal witnesses, and the death of the person whose signature it bears. The claim is made to include the most valuable portion of the town and valuable wharf lots.

The town was in a state of excitement during the admiral's visit, and most absurd reports were circulated of threatened cannonading, frightening children, and making timid women very nervous. I sometimes think it

would be pleasant to live under a Government strong enough to defend itself from the inflictions of such wrongs.

As many of the Cabinet councils are held in our parlor, it is impossible to remain in blissful ignorance of what is passing, as I fain would do. One of the keenest of all these trials has been the Lahaina agitation, originating among natives headed by Malo, and petitioning the king to dismiss all the foreigners from his service, except Mr. Richards, and put everything back where it was three years ago; also, not to allow any more white men to become the king's subjects by taking the oath of allegiance.

Now Malo expected some good position under the new organization, and was disappointed in not getting it. The chiefs were afraid of his *radicalism*, for he was good and talented and conscientious, though headstrong. John Ii had the appointment; a milder, more judicious man, if less energetic. David recommended the old order of things as better than the new.

The king made a tour of the Islands and addressed the people in various places, explaining to them his position and policy.

The following is a close translation of the king's letter to one of the petitioners at Lahaina:

"Gracious salutation. Kindly inform the old men and women of the time of my father, that I greatly desire all ancient privileges should be renewed.

"One privilege which Kamehameha I. proclaimed to the common people was, 'Old men and old women shall pass and lie down in safety on the road.'

"That, as well as other benefits of ancient times shall be perpetuated, if they are conformable with others which have been added, and some of them will be changed to give them a new character, to suit new circumstances which have arisen in my

reign. Therefore I have appointed certain *foreign officers*, as a means of finding out all the advantages that exist in the great Governments.

"I have not appointed these foreigners to office without regard to the people of the land. I have appointed them because my people do not understand fully the principles of action which exist in the great countries to whose family we have been admitted. I can at any time put an end to their holding office in the Hawaiian Islands.

"I earnestly desire that the common people be employed, if it is their wish and that of my court, all the common people that are acquainted with business, after the manner I have adopted. G. L. Kapeau, a commoner, is secretary to the Treasury Board, and no doubt he will become highly competent. I wish we had many such.

"Such are my sentiments at present, careful lest the benefits conferred by my father should become a dead letter. At the same time I desire teachers to instruct me and my Court, how to transact my Government business agreeably with the practice of enlightened nations.

"The chiefs, to whom you think those offices should be given, I am well satisfied could never perform the duties, viz: Leleihoku, Paki, Keoni Ana (John Young). These all hold offices in my Government, but they are quite incompetent to perform the duties which I have assigned to others.

"I hope the time will soon come when all these offices will be filled by the young chiefs, as soon as their education is completed.

"I am aware of the advantage of native clerks, but they can not readily become foreign clerks—therefore I see it is necessary to appoint others for that department.

"Therefore I refused assent to all the petitions of the common people, that the foreign secretaries be set aside for the benefit of native ones.

"Ancient men and women, I love you all, therefore I talk with you through the estimable person, Kamakau, who made known to me your love for us. KAMEHAMEHA."

During the king's tour around the Island of Maui, among several addresses, he made the following to the people of Wailuku:

"I have addressed you before with my 'kuhina' (premier), who is gone. I alone am left. I now repeat the same. I urge you to support schools and cultivate the soil. We are seeking the good of the country, but the work is not done. We are making laws—they are not obscure; if they were so to us, they would be so to you.

"Your hereditary chiefs have been in trouble, and therefore I have chosen some to aid them. They are ministers of white skin whom you see here. This is according to the *old system.* They know more than we, and I have chosen them for the sake of knowledge. You have heard of our trouble—I have seen it. Therefore we have chosen these helpers to help you.

"We have heard of your petitions. Should we consent to them, trouble would immediately follow before night. I ask of you, therefore, to put an end to your wish to promote that petition. I do not think you meant wrong. You did what you thought best. But you have not been in our councils, and can not know. Abandon, therefore, that idea. Take care of your children. They know not how to do right, but you must lead them. Send them to school, that they may be wise to know our affairs. Then they can read and judge for themselves. It is by reading that knowledge is gained. This is for your advantage, that the dwelling may be peace.

"Hear me, parents and children, commons. This is what I have to say."

ADDRESS OF JOHN YOUNG.

"You have all heard the voice of your king; have often heard it. When he went around with Kaahumanu, we were all children then. Now we tell you the same. We promote the same religion, the same justice, the same desire for education. We, all of us, have seen the past troubles.

"Formerly, when important business was done, Dr. Judd would be present, but must keep silent, or be sent away. When Kamehameha III. put on him *his own garments,* then he was heard. He took the oath of allegiance, and stood in the gap to save us. This year you have petitioned against him—you and the people of Lahaina. Did you ever hear of a people destroyed by allegiance? America was overrun, as you have been told, and the red-skins were destroyed. But the white men owed them no

allegiance. Do you think that I or Paki can do the work of a white minister? No. The young chiefs will, we hope, be qualified, but now we must have these white men.

"I do not think you have occasion to petition. The king knows best his own business. He weeps alone in his own house for troubles you know nothing of, and seeks the best means of relief. You have been led away by the inconsiderate."

At another place on the same island the king said:

"I have not often spoken. It is my wish to visit all my people. God has chosen me to be your king. You are my children. You see me before you in the enjoyment of peace. Read the public prints. What was esteemed in ancient times, is of little value compared with what we know now. Let us take care of ourselves. God is above. In no enlightened land is there a denial of God. You have heard His worship recommended by the old chiefs. They are gone. We, who were children, now stand to recommend the same. I have not a wish to act as a child, but to live in the faithful performance of my duty."

In another place he said:

"I address you in the name of God. Religion is the bulwark of a nation. Think not the missionaries alone say this. Every foreigner knows it. No country prospers without religion. Let us strive to attain it."

Mr. Young said:

"Laws are for your protection. If every man did his duty there would be no need of laws. Religion would, if sincerely pursued, do away their necessity. Formerly no one could approach the king. Death was the portion of all who crossed his shadow. Now he is one of you. Then he was king and god. Formerly you offered your eye-balls to the king, and your bodies, now he requires you to use them in gaining instruction.

"The king has chosen foreign ministers. Mr. Richards went as subject with Haalilio. More have been needed and chosen. No land has been taken by those who have taken the oath of allegiance. Bad aliens alone are dangerous to the kingdom. The king has watched and wept over his toil, until he chose these

men to aid him. And he is now at rest. Why do some of you say, It is a great expense? Shall not wisdom be paid? Is not wisdom better than gold? Those who take the oath of allegiance, will be faithful to serve our king.

"Why has he fatigued himself with this journey? For your good. He does not bathe in your waters to make them 'tabu' for further use."

The principal disputes and difficulties in which the nation had been involved for years have arisen from the complaints of foreigners holding lands and real estate in the Islands (some of them married to native wives), and yet claiming the protection and interference of their home Government, exercised here through its representative. Now it was thought that if fealty to the rightful sovereignty of the realm was required, in order to hold landed property, it would be necessary to bring all disputes arising therefrom before the Hawaiian courts, to be settled by the only legitimate authorities.

The officers of the new cabinet took the lead. Umbrage has been taken by the American residents on account of this measure, and contempt and ridicule are poured upon it with unsparing hand. Toadyism, traitorous, unpatriotic, and various other soft epithets have been applied to those who have had the moral courage to sustain the measure. Its defenders argue that it is the *only policy* that will insure harmony among the heterogeneous mass of foreign-born and native subjects.

If laws just and equal are impartially extended over all classes, there will be less room for jealous feuds on the part of the natives, while it will increase the interest of foreign residents in promoting peace and national prosperity. Those who intermarry should surely bring the civil and social blessings of the fatherland to the one

of their adoption. Americans ought to glory in transplanting and engrafting the liberal policy of their own fine institutions upon old heathen despotisms. If this noble work can sooner be achieved by owning allegiance to Kamehameha III., why should it be withheld? Thus far it works well, and proves a strong bond of brotherhood.

XXXIII.

Letter from a Distinguished Traveler—Opening of the Legislative Chambers—Feather Cloak—The Diplomatic Corps—Female Legislators—The King's Speech—The Traveler's Testimony—Sabbath Evening Service at the Palace—The King's Birthday—An Accident—Letter from a Correspondent—Dr. Judd's Letter.

LETTER from a distinguished traveler:

"HONOLULU, *May* 26, 1845.

"A brief account of the, for this part of the world, novel proceedings which have characterized the opening of the session of the Legislative Chambers, may not be without interest to your widely-extended readers, who feel any curiosity in the politics of this diminutive kingdom.

"Probably most are aware that hitherto Government business has been most irregularly conducted, the discussions being more after the fashion of Indian councils than anything else, over which missionary, or merchant, or man-of-war captain has held alternate influence. The consequence has been, as might have been expected, a loose, disjointed, unequal legislation, adapted neither to natives nor foreigners.

"The Legislature now called together, consists of the best men of the nation. It is divided into two houses—that of the Nobles, embracing the hereditary and the newly-created aristocracy of the kingdom, and that of the Representatives, elected by the people of the several islands.

"Assisted by the foreign professional talent in their service, it is proposed at this session to reorganize the Government, creating an independent and well-informed judiciary, after the model of that of the United States, recodifying the laws, and doing other important acts.

"That the session should be opened with due attention to forms and dignity, it was determined that the king should go in

state, after the fashion of Queen Victoria, to the Parliament, and read before them a speech.

"A large hall (the national stone church) was selected for the ceremony. A temporary throne was prepared in the middle, while in the rear and front, spreading in semicircular rows, were arranged seats for the nobles, representatives, officers of Government, the foreign diplomatic corps, and invited guests. The body of the house was thrown open to the public, and crowded to excess by people of all ranks, classes, and nations drawn together to witness a spectacle so anomalous in Polynesia. Tuesday, May 20th, was the day appointed, and to add to the decorations of the hall and throne, the old stores of past grandeur had been thoroughly ransacked.

"Two only of those stately and splendid 'kahilis,' the plume-like insignia of royalty, at once so beautiful and appropriate, were to be found, and their feathers were worn and rumpled by age. They were, however, about twenty feet high, with massive and rich staffs—the one surmounted by black feathers on a white ground—the other by orange and crimson. These were placed so as to tower over the throne, over which was thrown the only really rich remnant of royalty left. This was a feather cloak, made of very minute yellow feathers, two or three only being produced by a single bird, and attached with great skill to a fine net or gauze work, so as to form a brilliant and even garment, resembling somewhat delicate and malleable plates of fine gold. It took eight generations of kings to complete it. There was also the fine old spear of Kamehameha I., and feather capes of scarcely less beauty than the cloak borne by young chiefs attendant on the king. But all those rich helmets and other articles, which elicited the encomiums of early voyagers for their skill and workmanship, have now either perished or been borne away to decorate the museums of Europe and America. In lieu of them the chiefs and nobles wore the more glittering uniforms of civilized lands, heavy with gold lace and gilt buttons.

"The diplomatic corps made a tolerably brilliant show. The American Commissioner's uniform is certainly the neatest and most appropriate that has appeared here—plain and republican, but not wanting in effect. The English Consul-General's coat was covered with silver lace and decorations. The officers of

the English ships-of-war added not a little to the show and glitter.

"The effect of the whole was made more pleasing by the rich and tasteful dress of fifty or a hundred ladies.

"By the constitution of the country, female chiefs take an active part in Government affairs, and are governesses and peeresses by birth. On this occasion they turned out in all their strength, if I can not say beauty, though some of them are very passable, particularly the queen, Mrs. Rooke, and Mrs. Young, if I can add size, for to no inconsiderable weight of influence they add weight of body, and all have waists that would carry envy through the most populous establishment of Stamboul. I do not think their average weight can be less than two hundred pounds. However, they were dressed in excellent taste, and appeared to very good advantage.

"The king was dressed in a costly and splendid uniform. He came attended by the queen, his cabinet, and military escort. As he entered the building, the new royal standard, containing the national coat of arms, designed at the herald's office in London, wholly from national emblems, was hoisted for the first time. The brass band, all native musicians, struck up the national anthem; guns from the fort thundered forth twenty-one times. The whole company arose, and the king walked with much dignity to his throne. A prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Richards, chaplain of the Court, after which, at the command of the king, all seated themselves.

"The king then covered his head with his chapeau in a graceful manner and read his speech, which you will find printed, as well as the reports of the cabinet ministers, which reflect great credit upon them for the liberal spirit they manifested in recommending many useful changes favorably affecting both native and foreign residents. We have much occasion to rejoice that the chiefs have been so wise as to take into their councils men of such enlarged views, although for them to give satisfaction to all parties is not to be expected.

"After the king's speech the houses appointed a committee to draft a reply, and then adjourned.

"I must confess that gratifying reflections filled my mind upon viewing the well-ordered and appropriate ceremonies of the day,

and the absence of all that could be put down as incongruous; the respect shown by this king, so recently absolute, to constitutional forms; to his legislature and people; the reciprocal respect on their part; the becoming uniforms, decorations, and dresses of chiefs and people; the quiet, gentlemanly deportment of all; the ease and eloquence of the speakers; in short, the *tout ensemble* of refinement and civilization. Still more gratifying is the reflection that this order has been brought out of disorder and savage barbarism in the short space of twenty years by my countrymen."

I have recorded this letter here, as it is the testimony of a stranger, and may be supposed to be more impartial than if it had originated from some one of those behind the scenes, who had such a time in gathering, regulating, deciding, and putting in order so much of what appeared on the above occasion. I have been the more anxious to give you correct ideas, as it is probably the last scene of the kind in transition from the old to the new order of things.

It was very difficult for the chiefs to find feathers enough for the two "kahilis," as they are always taken to pieces after the ceremony and packed away in tapa and calabashes. The moths have performed their share in the work of destruction, and the feather tax is abrogated.

One of the bright sides of the picture at present is the Sunday evening service, held in the palace drawing-room. The pupils of the Royal School attend, and constitute a choir, as they have fine voices. One of the young ladies leads the singing with the melodeon. Mr. Richards usually conducts the service. He understands the language well, and the habits of the people and chiefs, so that he can adapt truth to the heart and understanding. The king always attends, and the other evening

he remarked upon the contrast between this scene and the gross idol-worship of his ancestors.

It has been resolved in privy council that His Majesty was born March 17th. The anniversary of his birthday was accordingly celebrated this year as a national holiday.

Two hundred guests dined at the king's table, and Mr. Wyllie made a party in the evening at Mauna Kilika. The collation was amply and tastefully arranged, and without wine or spirits of any kind.

During the salute from the fort on Punchbowl, a native was killed, and two more badly injured by the premature discharge of one of the guns. We were standing with the king in the palace yard and saw the explosion. The king was much affected, and turning to Dr. Judd, said, "Make haste." A horse was quickly mounted and the hill ascended in front, at its steepest angle—a feat seldom performed.

One poor native was dead, literally blown to pieces, and another died the next day. How I do abhor gunpowder! I am afraid that the monk, who it is said invented it, will remain a long time in purgatory before his sins will be expiated. . . . .

The following is an extract from a letter from Mrs. Fidelia Coan:

"HILO, HAWAII, 1845.

"DEAR MRS. JUDD:—You may be sure I watch with the deepest interest the experiment of training daughters to womanhood in these islands. May the Lord prosper you in your interesting and arduous work, and may your daughters grow up to be models of simplicity and female excellence.

"Home, though it may be an imperfect one, is the heaven-appointed nursery. Science may be required in adult years; but the spells of home must be bound in childhood, if ever. The

men of God which we hope our sons may become, can not, in my opinion, be perfected without their feeling during life strong and indelible impressions of the sweets and joys of home.

"Do you not think that married ladies, mothers especially, in the multitude of their cares, are apt to lose sight of that constant improvement, that completeness of character to which we may attain? We have little time to ourselves; our spirits are often jaded; our bodies are weary; we are discouraged and believe what we have often been told, that the cares of a family leave no time or strength for intellectual effort. I do not mean that we are to attempt to become great scholars. We can get along very well without a vast deal of *learning*, but not so well without a good deal of *knowledge*.

"Some of that knowledge must come from books; some must be the result of our own observation and reflections. All should tend to make us better, more like our blessed Pattern, who was no more complete in holiness than in every other part of His character.

"My thoughts are running more than usual in this channel of late, for I fear that the ladies of the islands generally are lowering instead of raising the standard. I think of you only as in turmoil, and yet trust, that like Greatheart, you can fight all your battles and still have many hours of calm reflection and joyful looking forward to the land where the weary are at rest.

"My constant prayer is that this nation may live before God, and that those who I am confident are endeavoring to promote its best interests, may have wisdom and grace to do *just right*." . . . .

"You know that the foreigners here have formed a 'Total Abstinence Society.' I want some songs for them. You will do me a great favor by sending such as come in your way, particularly the one that Mrs. Calkin played at your house, the chorus of which began—

'Oh, then, resign your ruby wine.'

I apply to you because I know you are interested in the cause, and because your daughters can come to your aid. . . . .

"I could fill my sheet on that expression of yours, that you are *determined to be happy*. There is no reason why you should not be. We may all be happy. We *ought* to be. I can not understand why there is so much restlessness, peevishness, feverish

anxiety, imbecility, and premature decay among Christians. It would seem that they should renew their strength, mount up as on eagles' wings; their path growing brighter, their hopes higher, as they near the goal. Alas! we often find the reverse to be true. Where this is the case, there must be something wrong. . . . . Perhaps physical laws have been disregarded, and health and strength sought in ignoble relaxation, when it should be sought in action. Then follow all the evils of Pandora's box without even hope at the bottom.

"We had heard repeatedly, and we hoped correctly, that you were coming to Hawaii. It would do you all good, and cool the fever of your mind, and I have no doubt would enable your good husband to digest something better than 'mush and milk and Government papers.' Believe me, he will not live long on such diet; not that mush and milk is not sufficient to sustain the body, but a physical and mental condition which renders such rigid diet necessary, can not long be endured. This is my opinion,—I do not ask anything for it! . . . .

"You inquire, 'Ought I to forgive ——— for those expressions made before the church?' By all means. First, because it is no uncommon thing for anathemas on other men's labors to come from that quarter. And second, because ill-natured criticisms are soonest put down by disregarding them. Public men are public marks, but don't mind the missiles! Do the best you can, and then, in any event, you can fall back upon rectitude of intention, which will be worth more than the applause of the whole world.

"It is truly distressing that what there is of mental and moral energy in the nation must be expended in political strife, instead of civil improvement. I trust it will not always be so. We ardently wish to see every friend of the cause about his appropriate work; giving his time, his thoughts, and all his energies to the interests of the people. The people must be exalted, or the Government is built upon a foundation of sand.

"Yours, etc., F. C."

Letter from Dr. Judd:

"HONOLULU, *March* 31, 1845.

"DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER:—It is the anniversary of our landing on these far-off shores, seventeen years ago. You will

expect a letter, though with me writing has become very difficult, owing to the entire loss of the sight of one eye. This affection commenced with dimness and giddiness of the head, ringing in my ears, and coldness of the extremities. . . . . I have been obliged to resign my office as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and turn my attention to business which requires more bodily exercise. This would be a great trial to me, so great is my attachment to the nation I serve, were it not for the fact that I am enabled to resign to a man better qualified than I am to fill the important office.

"I have the general oversight of that department, and all the other offices of Government, as the king and chiefs look to me as the responsible man. I continue to enjoy His Majesty's implicit confidence, and can not be exempted from care and responsibility if I would. If I could see the affairs of this nation prospering, I would prefer to retire and lead a more quiet life. God, who has directed, will continue to direct. Be it mine to follow His will. Your affectionate son, G. P. J."

XXXIV.

Mr. Wyllie's Report for 1844—*Arrival of Admiral Hamelin—The* $20,000 *Returned—Entertainments —New Treaties—Statistics—Native Girls—History of Kaili—A Pattern Life.*

EXTRACT from Mr. Wyllie's first report to the Hawaiian Legislature:

"HONOLULU, *May* 21, 1845.

"His Majesty the King, in the exercise of those powers secured to him by the Constitution, and of those inherited from his ancestors, not abrogated by that instrument, deemed it expedient for the good of his kingdom to create the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and appointed to fill that office G. P. Judd, Esq., on the 4th of May, 1843. Mr. Judd had previously served His Majesty as Interpreter and Recorder, and as his deputy in the commission (British) which administered the government of these Islands from the 25th of February to the 31st of July, 1843.

"After his appointment as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he had to perform the duties of the Treasury Board, and exercise many functions belonging to a Minister of the Interior. His eyesight having become impaired, and his general health broken down, under the anxiety and labor of these accumulated trusts, he resigned the seals of the Foreign Office into the hands of His Majesty on the 26th day of March, 1845.

"Under these circumstances His Majesty was graciously pleased to accept the seals and transfer them to the undersigned, but retaining Mr. Judd as head of the Cabinet and Minister of the Interior.

"When he took the office, on the 28th of March, the sovereignty of the Islands was held in pledge. When he left it that sovereignty was acknowledged by the United States, Great Brit-

ain, France, and Belgium. The share which the policy of Mr. Judd had in producing these grand results, under circumstances which appeared to bar their possibility, will best appear from the report of Rev. William Richards, one of the surviving commissioners."

March 22, 1846, the French frigate *Virginie*, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Hamelin, anchored in the port of Honolulu.

The admiral took the occasion at once to arrange for the return of the twenty thousand dollars which had been delivered to Captain La Place on the 13th of July, 1839. The money was brought on shore on the 23d, in the original boxes, and under the same seals which had been affixed when delivered to La Place.

"Nothing could exceed the perfect good taste and propriety of manner with which the Rear-Admiral arranged the delicate affair.

"The admiral was very affable and expressed himself much pleased with the apparent harmony existing between French subjects and the Hawaiian Government, through the medium of the French Consul, J. Dudoit, Esq.

"Mrs. Dudoit gave an elegant entertainment in the evening. Their Majesties the king and queen were present, and the young chiefs. The fine band from the *Virginie* was in attendance, and everybody was in good humor. This expression of confidence from the French Government was worth more than twenty thousand dollars.

"On the 28th the king was received on board the frigate with the honors of manned yards, royal salute, and the band playing 'God save the King.' After examining every part of the ship, they sat down to a collation, from which wine was excluded, in compliment to the temperance principles of the royal guest. The king took the occasion to drink (in cold water) the health of their Majesties the king and queen of France, to which the admiral responded by the same honor to the king and queen of the Sandwich Islands.

"On the 26th the new treaties were concluded, after an amicable verbal discussion of four hours. Were foreign Governments and their representatives always just and philanthropic, how many of the difficulties within the last two years might have been avoided."

"The statistics of 1846 show a great and increasing amount of foreign property afloat in our ports. The number of seamen and strangers visiting the kingdom during the year was not less than thirty thousand, and of vessels six hundred!

"We are informed that the population of the island of Molokai is on the increase, contrary to the reports from all the other islands of the group. The report gives one hundred and fifty baptisms and only twenty deaths!

"There is a strong public sentiment on the island to prevent children from leaving home, yet figures show that at least one hundred and fifty girls have been enticed away to Lahaina and Honolulu. Legislative and parental authority on this subject are both required, and yet, sad to say, parents can be found who barter away their daughters for infamous purposes!

"A physician was called to a poor young creature the other day in our village in a dying condition. On inquiry, it was found she had been *sold by her mother* to a traveling stranger for *sixty dollars*. The brutish mother took the money and forsook her child, who after a few months was again deserted, destitute, sick, and dying. Would to Heaven this were a rare case!

"Molokai has no harbor for ships, and is free from the corrupting influences which commerce, with all its blessings, is sure to leave in its train among such a people. As an offset to this dark side of the moral picture, is the following obituary of Kaili, which, though written by her husband, a foreigner, is, I believe, perfectly truthful:

"'I became acquainted with her in the early part of 1843, when she was but a little girl. (She was born June 17, 1832). In an attempt to talk with her, she gave me to understand *she was a church-member*. With my then imperfect knowledge of the language and prejudged opinion of the people, I supposed *that* but a cloak, a desecrated garment to cover iniquity. But she soon convinced me she was not to be trifled with—and with a tone

of voice and expression of countenance I shall not soon forget I have ever since respected such professions. Our acquaintance continued for three years, when we were married. Through this period I never saw or heard aught to spot her character. . . . . Since then I have known every secret of her heart, and a better one, it seems to me, impossible. She made me secretly ashamed of my own, and I wondered how a human one could be so single and so pure.

"'Religion, or a sense of her relation to her Maker, as taught in the Scriptures, was the prominent feeling in her heart. This I know; for never a day passed while we lived together without unequivocal manifestation of it. All her actions confirmed it. She never boasted of her piety—far from it. She always felt herself to be unworthy. This religious consistency told wonderfully upon me. From admiring it alone, I came to love it and sincerely desire it.

"'This quality, coupled with great natural endowments, acquired that ascendency over me, and all of us, which she justly deserved; and, in fact, she became the *head*, and her advice was sought in everything of importance, and we always thought ourselves bettered when we followed it. *She was always right.* In abilities, from circumstances, I was her superior; but in moral integrity and all that was good, she was immeasurably above me.

"'Nothing could persuade her into evil. She was firm as a rock. Her unqualified exemption from all bad habits, so prevalent among her people, was truly remarkable. She never used tobacco, nor gave her consent to its use in the house. In fact, she persuaded me from its use, as she did from other vicious and idle habits, which a single and careless man is apt to contract.

"'She never went into the street to see people pass; never romped or went to festivals, other than religious ones or school celebrations. I never heard her chant a native song, or chatter nonsense or gossip with her people. She detested gewgaws and finery, and would never consent to my getting for her more than decency required. Shortly after the birth of her child, I tried to persuade her to wear jewelry, telling her I was proud of her and would purchase such as she wished, as she had well earned it. She replied that God had sent her a *jewel* that pleased her more than all the trifles (*mea lapuwale*) that I could purchase.

This reminded me of Cornelia, and I told her the story. Her admiration was unbounded, and I could get no rest until I told her more of those noble Roman matrons.

"'Such was the vein of her mind she loved conversation, when the topic was a noble one; if not, she listened with impatience. She loved her people and deplored their condition. She looked back with peculiar horror on the degradation of her ancestors, and forever wondered that the present generation did not more generally take advantage of the terms now offered them.

"'She could never excuse any one for licentiousness or wickedness of any kind on the plea of ignorance; her reason being a simple and forcible one, viz: there was not a Hawaiian but had had the same advantages of education with herself, and that she *always knew better*.

"'I was absent when she died; but her mother tells me she gathered to her all her beauties in her death, and passed away without a struggle.'"

XXXV.

Remove to a New House—The Bridge Gone—Going to Church—Nuuanu Road—A Grand Celebration, July 31—Eatables—The New Commissioner—The New United States Consul—King's Address—Mr. Brinsmade returned—More Trouble—The Arbitration—Mr. Richards Sick—Mr. Ricord resigns—Judge Lee—Changes among the Missionaries—New Buildings and Old Ones—Embarrassments—Death of Mr. Richards—Funeral.

NUUANU VALLEY, 1847.

ONE earnest wish of my heart is gratified. We have a quiet home of our own in this lovely valley. I have felt for the last two years that one of two things must be done: my husband must allow me to take the children to the United States, where they could be educated, or I must have a more retired home for them. So much anxiety and so much company unfit me for maternal duty.

Our house is located on the first hill after crossing the Nuuanu stream, and commands a beautiful view of the town, extending from the Mission premises on the left to Barber's Point and Waianae mountains on the right. The rooms are smaller and less elegant than those we have occupied the last four years, but there is an air of home comfort and convenience that pleases me. The house has a chimney and a kitchen within, which is an anomaly in Hawaiian architecture.

We had been collecting the materials for two years, a little here and a little there, as we could command the means of payment. The doors, floors, and gates were

made in Copenhagen and sent out for sale, and my husband purchased them at auction for much less than we could get them made. The windows, glazed, and blinds already painted were sent out from Boston.

I have a woolen carpet, and walls papered in our parlor, which I fancied, when completed, would remind me of one in a far-off land. But, alas for my fancied picture! The damp from the coral stones, of which the walls are made, has defaced and spoiled the pretty paper, and it must all come off.

In a few days after our removal there was a heavy rainfall, and the torrents from the hill-sides rushed together, so that the little modest stream that I used to cross on the stones in search of stray scholars was turned into a muddy, turbulent river, which rushed down to the sea with such violence as to sweep away all the bridges in its course. This is a serious inconvenience to the families that live in the valley, but will lead to the erection of substantial stone bridges.

We find plenty of pleasant work in putting the grounds in order around our new home. As the lot has been used for a banana field, it is full of dried stock, with mustard-trees and thistles.

We still attend the services at the stone church, and the English service at the Bethel, though it is a mile and a half away. The children walk, but I have a little wagon with low wheels, made here, and my husband has purchased the donkey which Mr. C—— trained. Sometimes he goes very well, but he has a habit of turning into his old haunts; and I am obliged to wait before a hotel or store his donkeyship's pleasure, and then he very quietly resumes his accustomed pace. A horse is in the training process, which I hope to have the courage to drive, but that narrow escape in 1843 made a great coward of me.

The Nuuanu road is extended to the Pali, starting from the premises of Ladd & Co., and is in good repair. The king has a retreat built near the cascade, and adjoining that disputed lot given by the old Governor of Kauai to Captain Hinkley, and sold by him to Mr. Pelly, an Englishman, who claimed it in fee simple, ignoring the native custom of resuming such *gifts* at pleasure.

This year the king said he would have a celebration on the 31st of July, worthy of the event it commemorated, and fulfill the doctor's dream in Lord George's time, viz: the kingdom restored, and all the road to the Pali filled with a procession bearing little Hawaiian flags.

You never saw such a company of equestrians in all your life. Men were stationed in different places to count them as they passed. There were nearly four thousand, and ever so many carriages and multitudes on foot.

The king and queen rode for the first time in the carriage which he lately purchased of Pomare, Queen of Tahiti. It was presented to her by Queen Victoria, but since her kingdom is despoiled by the French, she felt herself too poor to keep it, and sent it up here for sale. It was drawn on this grand occasion by four gray horses gaily caparisoned.

The feast of the natives was prepared by the Governor and Paki, and was spread on the ground in the grove of koa trees, three miles and over from the town. There were 271 pigs baked, 500 calabashes of poi, 600 fowls, three oxen, two barrels of salt pork cooked with taro leaves (luau), two barrels of bread, 5,000 fishes, ten barrels of potatoes, fifty-five ducks, eighty turkeys, 4,000 roots of taro (kalo), eighteen bunches of bananas, fifty pine-apples, with cabbage, onions, cocoanuts, etc., sufficient to feed

twelve thousand native guests. There was also a table in the king's cottage for all the foreign ladies and gentlemen, spread with every luxury, native and foreign, including hot tea and coffee.

With such a host on foot, on horseback, and in carriages, there was no rudeness, no confusion, nor a single accident in going or returning. This is certainly very remarkable, and must be put to the credit of the strict temperance principles which were observed throughout. If there was one drop of strong drink on the ground, it was smuggled there.

In the evening there were religious services at the king's chapel—a sermon and several addresses, with fine singing by the Johnson brothers and Mr. J. F. B. Marshall. The king and chiefs, officers of Government, many foreigners, and crowds of natives attended.

On the arrival of the new American Commissioner, Mr. Ten Eyck, and family, Mr. Brown took leave of us. He sailed for home *via* China, and there is every reason to fear that the vessel went down in a typhoon, as nothing is yet heard of it.

Our intercourse with Mrs. Ten Eyck was very pleasant the short period she remained among us, but too soon "she faded away." The American Consul, Judge Turril, and his wife are a great acquisition. The judge is a gentleman of the old school, rather taciturn, but a peacemaker and an inflexible friend. They have an interesting family, which is a bond of sympathy between us. Mrs. Turril is an embodiment of female excellence, discreet, reliable, and lady-like.

Mr. Brinsmade returned, as you know, without success in his Belgian scheme. He called on us and appeared very kind, but was not long in discovering the hostile attitude which many prominent men in the community

had taken against the Government; and he concluded to make a bold move, as it was "neck or nothing" with him now. He accordingly pounced upon the Government for the non-fulfillment of the contract, and sued for hypothetical damages to the modest amount of $300,000.

There was some difference of opinion in the cabinet. Mr. Richards had signed the contract and felt implicated, and was inclined to favor them, and assume their liabilities, and take their property—including the sugar plantation on Kauai—continuing it in operation at Government expense. This measure was stoutly opposed by others in the cabinet, who argued that the debts were heavy, and that the plantation would sink money every year.

Arbitrators were chosen, and the case submitted to them. There was a great deal said by both parties, and time enough consumed to have made a little fortune, but breath, time, and money were expended to little purpose, except to widen the breach. The arbitration produced no beneficial results, and ended in the entire alienation of old and long-cherished friendships. This was very painful to some of the families.

My husband, you know, never inquires what course will secure most friends, or the greatest amount of popularity, but only what is most conducive to the king's interest and the nation's good. He did try every honorable way to compromise and settle the matter amicably, but with no success. There was no alternative but to fight it through.

Mr. Richards' health suddenly gave way in the midst of the contest. A partial paralysis of the brain soon laid him aside.

Mr. Ricord resigned and has gone to a more inviting field for his enterprising talents in California. We were

sorry to lose his services, for he has labored faithfully, if not always judiciously, for the Government three years; and to him must be awarded the laurels of the first victories achieved in the contest for the supremacy of Hawaiian laws, extended equally over foreigners and native-born subjects. His successor, William Lee, Esq., will have the advantage of entering the arena cleared of some of its first giant foes. Mr. Ricord possesses brilliant talents and great energy of character, and is ardent in his friendships, but often pains his best friends by his eccentricities and impulsive temper.

Mr. Lee and his friend B—— came passengers in the *Henry*, famous for making the longest voyage on record around Cape Horn—eight months—stopping only a few days at St. Catherine's. These young men were bound for Oregon, and it required a good deal of persuasion to turn them from their purpose, and try their fortunes in this little kingdom. The manners of Mr. Lee are plain and unpretending, but if his face is a true index, he carries an honest heart in his bosom.

How many changes have taken place during the seven years last past! Messrs. Whitney, Knapp, Dibble, and Mrs. Dole have gone to worship in that "upper sanctuary." The quiet old order of things in the Mission is broken up. The pastors are mostly supported by the people. The schools are sustained by the Government, with appropriations of twenty, thirty, and forty thousand dollars a year.

A new court-house, custom-house, market, and printing office, all of coral stone, are going up, and when completed, with the fine private residences of Captain Dominis, Dr. Wood, Mr. Shillaber, and Paki, will give quite a new aspect to the city.

The old "homestead" in the Mission, where we spent

such a pleasant seven years together, continues to change occupants, and each tenant adds to or subtracts from its niches and "cubby holes." A truthful history of all the metamorphoses of that domicile would be quite amusing. Mrs. Bingham's old suite of rooms is much changed. The partitions are moved, a new window here and a door there, with old ones closed up, and a new paper on the walls.

The old school-house remains unaltered; with the same marks carved on the benches, during the general meetings by uneasy children. These children are now young men and maidens, some of them ready to take their parents' places in the work. Our sons attend Punahou school, and the daughters also, a part of the year. But it is a deal of trouble to provide saddles and horses for so many, and it is quite too far to walk either in the sun or rain. We have secured the services of a private teacher for a few months.

I never felt poorer, even when a missionary, for we were obliged to borrow money to pay carpenters and masons who built our house, and give a mortgage on it for security. It is a miserable feeling to be in debt, and yet we are supposed by many people in this community to be rich, very rich! "How can the Minister of Finance and Interior, with so many opportunities to fill his own pocket, be otherwise?" There is so little real honesty among men, that that little is often suspected.

November 7, 1847.

Mr. Richards, our associate, friend, and brother, died this morning. The cloud of sorrow that wraps the widow and fatherless is too sacred for me to lift. He was watchful and tender of everything that pertained to the interest of his dear wife and children. A new home for them,

situated in the neighborhood of the grass palace, was nearly finished, and they were looking forward to a time of quiet in it, after so many years of wandering and separation. "The Lord seeth not as man seeth." He is gone to the "many mansions" prepared for those that love God. His end was peace. We have lost a beloved brother and faithful friend, and the nation is bereaved of one of its staunch supporters. Such a life as his needs no eulogy from my feeble pen.

November 13.

Our beloved brother was carried to the royal tomb with military honors at the king's request, and Mr. Dole preached a sermon at the stone church.

Dear Miss O—— has been with the afflicted ones during the last illness of Mr. Richards. What a ministering angel is that good woman! The king will make comfortable provision for Mrs. R. and her two daughters.

XXXVI.

Extracts from Journal, 1848—Mr. Jarves resigns—Mr. Dillon arrives and Bishop Maigret—Massacre of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman at Oregon—Portrait of Louis Philippe——Opening of the Legislature—Intemperance and Temperance—Report of Minister of the Interior—Hamburg Treaty—Louis Philippe Dethroned—Gold in California—A. B. Bates and Family arrived—Reminiscences——Trouble Ahead—The Measles—The Land Commission—Committee to Divide the Lands—Mr. Armstrong—The Young Princes.

JANUARY 8, 1848.—Treaty concluded between Hamburg and the Hawaiian kingdom. Mr. Wyllie and E. A. Suerkrap were negotiators.

January 22.—Mr. J. J. Jarves, for five years the able editor of the *Polynesian*, and director of the Government press, resigned the pen and scissors, "with his best wishes and hearty 'aloha.'" "Friend after friend departs," some to fatherland, and some to the silent land.

February 5.—The French corvette *Sarcelle* arrived on the first of this month with a new consul, Monsieur Dillon, lady, two children, and servants, with chancellor and secretary. Bishop Maigret, of the Roman Catholic Church, returned with them from Valparaiso.

A barque from Oregon has just arrived, bringing news of the horrible massacre of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and other whites by the Kayuse Indians. Suspicion that Dr. Whitman was administering poison, instead of medicine, to the victims of an epidemic disease, had been created in their minds by ill-disposed persons, and

roused the Indians to revenge. Two hundred volunteers have gone in pursuit of the murderers, and to rescue thirteen captive children.

February 15. — The full-length portrait of Louis Philippe, the King of France, was presented to Kamehameha III. at the palace. It required twelve men from the *Sarcelle* to carry it, and a body of marines to guard it, a band of music, and a salute of twenty-one guns! The picture, in a massive gilt frame, was wrapped in the national flag, and followed by the wife of the consul and others in carriages; Bishop Maigret and the Catholic clergy, all the French residents in procession, up one street and down another, to magnify the occasion.

On arriving at the palace gate, the Hawaiian guards extended on both sides of the avenue, from the gate to the palace steps. Another salute was fired from Punchbowl. The king, queen, young chiefs from the royal school, Government officers, ladies and gentlemen, stood on the steps to receive the portrait. Paki, Lord Chamberlain, with a few men to assist, succeeded at last in getting it safely into the reception-room, where it is to remain.

The French consul made a fine speech, with the usual amount of compliments on such occasions, and His Hawaiian Majesty made a 'neat' reply, which he had in his pocket, written for him by the Minister of Foreign Relations. This is the custom in other countries, but our king's own speeches are a thousand times better than those prepared for him, because he does not blunder in reading them, and they are more natural and sincere.

The king opened the palace in the evening to receive calls and exhibit the portrait. It is certainly a very distinguished compliment to our little court and kingdom to receive such a princely gift.

Madame Dillon is fair and affable. Monsieur le consul is shrewd, and has had a long training in the office of M. Guizot. Professions of extreme good feeling and cordiality are ample.

April 27, 1848.—The Legislature opened at the stone church with much less display than last year.

The king was scarcely able to get through reading his speech. He had not made himself familiar with it, and it was too long. He recommended giving titles to lands in fee simple to his subjects.

It is much to be regretted that wine has been introduced at the king's table at public dinners of late. We know his love for stimulants is so strong, that, if he tastes liquor at all, excess is sure to follow. It gives us much uneasiness.

Judge Lee is a firm supporter of temperance principles, and is president of the Oahu Temperance Society. He stated, in an address to the society, that $90,000 had been expended during the past year for wines, strong drink, and spirituous liquors by the residents and the sea-faring portion of our community.

The Minister of the Interior reports that five hundred foreigners have taken the oath of allegiance since July, 1843. He reported also on the committee appointed by the king in privy council to effect an amicable division of lands between His Majesty, the chiefs, and the *konohikis*. Under their management the division had been made in a manner highly beneficial to all concerned.

August 1.—We hear, by the arrival of the *Rhone*, from England, that all Europe is in a ferment and likely to be revolutionized. Louis Philippe abdicated and fled in disguise on February last, just ten days after we received

his splendid portrait at the palace of Kamehameha III. The King of Prussia, whose portrait likewise adorns the palace walls, is a fugitive in a foreign land. "Coming events cast their shadows before." . . . .

This year the general meeting of the missionaries was uncommonly interesting. Some of them had not met for fifteen years! Mr. Baldwin made a report of a school celebration at Lahaina; there were fourteen tables, each one hundred feet long. The parents were the waiters; each child had a plate, knife, bowl, tumbler, and chair. They sang, made speeches, etc., etc.

Card playing is a growing evil among the natives. The price of a pack of cards is twelve and a half cents.

October 21.—Our young friend Leleiohoku died of *delirium tremens.*

The discovery of gold in California, in fabulous quantities, is reported, and produces a great sensation in our little realm. Provisions are high in California. Sugar, butter, hams, coffee, potatoes, sell at a dollar a pound in the mines, and woolen blankets from fifty to a hundred dollars apiece. There are already twenty-seven vessels running between the Islands and the coast. Every one expects to make his fortune. Old blankets, cloaks, pea-jackets, etc., are shipped; our market is likely to be stripped of eatables, and we may be reduced to fish and poi. Three hundred persons have already taken passports for the land of gold, and still they go. Croakers are abroad, who say that our fair islands are to be depopulated and commercially ruined.

June 28.—Mr. A. B. Bates and family have arrived, and are now quietly settled in a small cottage near us. Mrs. Bates, my husband's sister, parted with us at the old homestead in Oneida County twenty-one years ago, little dreaming we should meet again at the Sandwich Islands.

November 3.—It is twenty-one years since we left Boston Harbor in the little *Parthian.* It is pleasant to notice these anniversaries. The changes of season, summer and winter, make the year seem longer; while here the difference of seasons is very slight.

We have been going over the 103d Psalm in the family, repeating it at the breakfast-table. The Christian's experience of God's goodness is the same in all ages. Our cup of domestic blessings is full—we have much to be grateful for. And yet there are very great trials and annoyances inseparable, perhaps, from our position. We are accused of ambition, self-seeking, and avarice, while but too conscious of pecuniary embarrassment and oppression. It is easy to see that undermining influences are at work to injure my husband, and weaken his influence with the king. He is a target for all parties to shoot at. Foreigners hold him responsible for every mistake or blunder of the Government, while the king, chiefs, and natives hold him responsible for all the acts of other Government officers, including clerks and employés.

Every act must be strictly according to law, Judge Lee says, while there are no laws to suit the act—or very imperfect ones.

Foreign officials have cliqued together and sustain a newspaper, which attacks and misconstrues every public measure, and heaps abuse and ridicule upon the Government and Ministers, not sparing His Majesty himself.

The king, we fear, is less conscientious in his moral deportment than he was formerly, and the young princes of the Royal School are growing restive and impatient to break their bonds and act for themselves. Some of them have outgrown the institution. How can their education be finished? And how occupy this restless

activity? How secure them from tempters on every side, greedy for their unwary prey?

The measles and whooping cough have been introduced from California this fall, and have spread throughout the group, proving fatal in every tenth case. The poor creatures in the midst of the fever rush to the water to bathe, which suppresses the eruption and they die suddenly. They are so improvident, with no food or comforts laid by for a sick day!

The clergymen have been obliged to turn their sermons into medical lectures, and instruct their hearers how to manage the sick and take care of their bodies. I have been able to do little else for three weeks than serve out rice, sugar, tea, arrow-root, bread, and gruel to my suffering neighbors. There has not been a death among all those we have nursed and fed in this way. In the list of mercies, I would not be ungrateful for health.

My husband's vigor and energy were greatly benefited by his long tour with the king around the different islands.

A commission for the adjudication of land titles was formed long ago, when Mr. Ricord was in office, Mr. Richards being president. A hundred or more claims were settled and patents given. But now disputes about the legal proprietorship of extensive portions are constantly arising. Was the king the owner, or some chief to whom he had given it in charge, or the residing land agent (konohiki)? It was found necessary to go back and begin at the beginning and settle these points first.

After a great deal of investigation and buffeting with old usages, it was concluded that one-half of all the lands properly belonged to the king and his chiefs, and the remainder to the people, whose claims should be adjusted according to the laws. Every man who could

prove his occupancy of a land for a certain number of years, was to be considered the rightful owner of a portion, and could claim his title in fee simple.

The land commissioners, unable to make a division of these rights, referred the matter to the king, who, with the chiefs, had been discussing and considering the details for three years without coming to a satisfactory conclusion; but as the commissioners could not proceed without a division, the king appointed a committee, consisting of John Young, G. P. Judd, and J. Piikoi, to do the work without reference to the *wishes* of the parties interested. They made short work. The name of every land in the islands was recorded in a book, the division made and also recorded. Of course, the king had the lion's share, and in the end made a division of one-half of his share for the Government.

It cost a deal of hard work to disentangle complicated claims overlying one another, as they have done from time immemorial. We look upon the measure as a great sacrifice on the part of the rulers, who, according to old customs, owned it all, and think that they should have the full credit of it, instead of being stigmatized as "land pirates," as they were in a public address not long since. Can history, past or present, point to an aristocracy who have yielded so much to the people in so short a time? This has not been brought about by the influence of commerce, as some would claim. The divine precept, to do unto others as ye would they should do unto you, has produced its legitimate fruit in subduing selfishness and curbing the natural disposition to aggrandize self at the sacrifice of the happiness of many.

Friday, December 24, 1848.—Moses Kaikioewa, second son of Kinau, aged nineteen years and six months, died

to-day. He was educated at the Royal School, and was prospective governor of the Island of Kauai.

Changes in our little kingdom chase each other like the figures and hues of a kaleidoscope.

A special meeting of the Mission was convened in May last to arrange and carry out the measures recommended by the A. B. C. F. M. in regard to their support. Several members had already withdrawn their connection with the Board, and one of the pastors of a native church had thrown himself upon it for support. His experiment was a successful one, and the effort of the natives to sustain their own minister and teacher afforded new incentives to industry, and called for the corresponding effort.

Rev. R. Armstrong has dissolved his connection as pastor of the first native church in Honolulu, and entered the Government service as Minister of Public Instruction. Mr. E. O. Hall, secular agent of the Mission, has received the appointment of Director of the Government Press. Mr. and Mrs. Cooke have left the Royal School and removed to the Mission. Mr. J. Fuller continues to teach the few pupils that remain. The princes Lot and Alexander are removed and board with Mr. and Mrs. Bates in Nuuanu Valley. They find employment a few hours every day in writing at the Government House. They read, write, and speak the English language perfectly, are good mathematicians, and are well versed in geography and history. With so little to occupy and interest their inquiring minds, we fear a retrogression in mind and morals, unless something special can be devised for their advancement.

One of the young ladies from the Royal School is married to a lawyer, and keeps house in a neatly-furnished cottage in the valley. She has a pretty flower garden and a piano.

The Female Boarding School at Wailuku has been remodeled and has changed teachers. Day scholars are admitted. There is a vast amount of talking, writing, and printing on the great subject of *national advancement* and prosperity, both in and out of the Mission. One great question is, How can the wings of the destroying angel be stayed, which at the present fearful rate of ravage will exterminate the Hawaiian race in a few years? "The decrease is steady and silent, as the falling of leaves from old and decaying trees in a forest."

A great number of young men go to sea and never return. Several companies have gone to the mines, from whom we have good accounts. They are reported as the most orderly people there, observing the Sabbath as a day of rest, and are in the daily maintenance of family worship and reading their Hawaiian Bibles and newspapers.

XXXVII.

School Composition—Old Hannah—Her Fortune—Extract of a Letter from a Prince.

1849.

A COMPOSITION written by one of Mrs. J——'s daughters.

OLD HANNAH.

"Old Hannah came to live with us five years ago. She is nearly forty years old, but can not tell exactly, as the natives reckon by some event that took place—not by the years. She says she was a little girl when old Kamehameha 1st died; that she belonged to the train of Queen Kamamalu, who died in England. She used to be a skillful dancer, and now, sometimes, when she is talking very earnestly, she forgets herself and steps off to the right and left, gesturing with her hands, as if she were dancing.

"Kuaole, her husband, is very stupid about learning to read, but is a very good farmer. He takes care of the garden, plants taro and sweet potatoes. Old Hannah orders him about as if he were her servant, and he generally does as she wishes, though sometimes he growls a little.

"They sleep in their own house, a little distance from us, but always manage to be here in season for a warm breakfast, particularly a bowl of hot tea or coffee, of which they are very fond.

"They are both church-members, and Hannah spends a great deal of her time in looking after straying church-members and getting people out to meeting. She is never tired of walking and talking.

"She is a great flatterer, and when she wants any particular favor of my mother, she always begins by telling her how somebody had praised her children, or said how young and good-looking she was, and how much all the chiefs had always admired her looks and skill.

"She takes care of the poultry and does some housework—is very fond of planting and watering the flowers.

"She is a leader of the fashions among her class, and often comes to us to contrive some new style of dress for them. She likes red or blue basques with white skirts. When she sweeps the house she always gathers out every fragment of silk, ribbon, or bright-colored cloth, and makes them into trimming for her bonnet.

"A few months ago she heard of the death of her father, on Hawaii, and that he had left her his fortune. Accordingly, on the 18th day of December, she bade adieu to all the family, with many tears, and sailed one hundred and fifty miles across the rough channel, after her fortune.

"We did not hear anything from her till a week ago, when her husband came in and said Hannah had returned, but could not come ashore till we had sent her a dress to wear, as hers was worn out. The dress was sent and she soon made her appearance.

"She related her adventures as follows: The schooner made a long passage of twelve days, when she landed at Kawaihae, where the old temple was built in the days of Kamehameha 1st, and where old Mr. Young lived. She went on foot up to Waimea, where Mr. Lyons lives, fifteen miles. There she made a visit, as she formerly lived there. Then she traveled through the deep forest of Mahiki, and down the great pali to Hamakua, where her fortune was. She obtained it. It was a few goats, one pig, two ducks, and one turkey.

"She drove them a long distance, but one goat was troublesome, so she dispatched it (she did not say how); after that the rest went along quietly, and she reached Kawaihae, where they embarked with two ducks and a turkey, leaving the rest to come by the next vessel.

"The schooner made a long voyage down, and she was very sick. She ate one of the ducks during the passage, so all she had to show for her trouble and fatigue was one duck and one turkey!"

Extract from a letter of one of the young princes:

"HAWAII, *July*, 1849.

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—I received your letter of the 13th the day after we arrived at this place. We have been traveling two

or three days over nothing but sharp lava and deep ravines, sleeping in caves with nothing but our ponchos or pea-jackets for pillows, and a single blanket for covering, the weather quite cold too.

"We have come to this place, which is a little better. We go out almost daily for wild cattle for subsistence. We live in 'papais'—little huts made by ourselves.

"I am using the top of Mr. H——'s trunk for a writing desk, while he is sitting by me using a cigar-box for the same purpose.

"You must excuse me for not writing a longer letter, as I have spent a very unpleasant night, and do not feel well this morning.

"L——'s handkerchief, unfortunately, I forgot to give you, and I still have it with me. With the hope that this will find you well and happy, I remain,

"Your sincere friend, LIHOLIHO."

XXXVIII.

Journal, 1849—*Death of Alapai--Arrival of Admiral de Tromelin—Courtesies—Arrival of the Steamer Gassendi—Imperative Demands—Destruction of the Fort—Seizure of Vessels—Visit of Madame Dillon—Negotiations—The Yacht Carried Off—My Husband Going to France.*

1849.

ALAPAI, wife of John Young, died very suddenly of apoplexy. Her husband is absent with the king on Hawaii, and the funeral services will be delayed until their return.

A French ship-of-war, with an admiral, is at Hilo, Dr. Judd writes. He is very friendly, and hopes the difficulty between Monsieur Dillon, the consul, and Mr. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Relations, will be amicably adjusted without resorting to arms, as threatened.

August 12, 1849.—The French frigate *La Poursuivante*, Admiral de Tromelin, arrived from Hilo, where she had been ten days. The admiral called on me with Madame Dillon. He speaks English very well, and is very affable. He appears well disposed toward the Government and people.

He has rooms at Madame Dillon's cottage in the valley, and has exchanged salutes with the governor of the fort.

Sunday.—The French steamer *Gassendi* arrived from Tahiti. The political atmosphere portends a storm.

19*th.*—The king and suite returned, hastened by the death of Mrs. Young. She was a favorite of the king,

being one of the maids of honor in the train of his beloved sister.

22*d.*—A dispatch was received from the admiral, couched in very imperative terms, demanding an immediate interview with the king. It was received during the funeral obsequies of Mrs. Young, and before it could be replied to was followed by another, which required the complete adoption of the treaty of 1846, as it reads in the French text. The demands were as follows:

The reduction of duty on French brandy. A rigorous equality for the two forms of Christian worship.

The adoption of the French language in official intercourse between French and Hawaiians.

Concession and redress with reference to customs duties, and the return of a small fine imposed on a French vessel, for the infringement of custom-house regulations.

An official apology for the impious conduct of certain native pupils of the High School at Lahainaluna (who put their hands in the holy water).

Indemnity to the keeper of the French hotel for property damaged by some drunken *English* sailors.

The removal from office of the governor of Hawaii, who enforced the payment of taxes by a person in the employ of a French priest, on Hawaii, and who evaded the policemen by sheltering himself in the house of said priest.

Prompt compliance was required, or the admiral "would resort to the means at his disposal for coercion!"

Replies—calm, reasonable, and dignified—from the king's cabinet, requesting the admiral to show cause for this extraordinary proceeding, were of no avail. While the negotiations were pending, and before the king's ultimatum was received, a French force of sappers and miners were landed, who took possession of the fort and

magazine, and French guards were placed at the custom-house and at the Government offices. The king's yacht and several vessels belonging to foreigners were seized.

All the guns were thrown from the walls of the fort or spiked. The magazine was opened and the powder poured into the sea. All the old muskets, swords, and bayonets that could be found were broken to pieces, and every article on the premises destroyed, not sparing the old clock on the walls of the governor's house. Two large camphor-wood trunks, containing kahili feathers and various articles belonging to Kinau, were carried on board the French ships, and even the calabashes were smashed and thrown into the well.

This glorious warfare was carried on by the soldiers of that most chivalrous nation without the slightest resistance on the part of natives or foreigners. The damages amounted to one hundred thousand dollars at a fair estimate.

While the French were doing this mischief, not to redress a national wrong, but in obedience to the orders of M. Dillon, for personal revenge upon the minister, the French flag was pulled down at the consulate, and the Hawaiian Government held responsible for damage to French property, and Madame's furniture removed from her residence in the valley a mile above our dwelling to the steamer *Gassendi.*

She called on her way down, as we had always been on the most friendly terms, and assured me of the most kindly feelings on the part of herself, her husband, and the admiral, toward the king and all his cabinet, with the exception of the Minister of Foreign Relations. She said if the king had only listened to the advice of her husband and dismissed the obnoxious minister long ago, if he would listen to reason and sacrifice him even

now, all this evil might be averted. But if he would not rid himself of so unworthy a person, the innocent must suffer with the guilty. The consul had *power* now, and would have satisfaction for all he had suffered of insult and indignity at the hands of the minister. She offered protection for me and the children on board the steamer, and assured me that if still harsher measures were resorted to, great care would be taken to save our premises.

I thanked her for her kind offer, but replied that our interests were identified with the Hawaiians, and their fate must be ours. I could see no just cause for this destruction of property, as all the disputed points in the treaty of 1846 had been referred to France for adjudication, and the other complaints had been settled in our courts of justice—the only proper place. I could not understand how her husband, who had been trained for so many years in the political school of M. Guizot, and who had always professed so much candor and sincerity, could allow himself for mere private pique to inflict such injustice upon a feeble, peace-loving people and an innocent community.

She affirmed that her husband had borne and suffered a vast amount of ill-usage for a long time from the Minister of Foreign Relations, that he had remonstrated with the king and Minister of Finance in vain, and it was no more than right for the king and cabinet to suffer for their obstinacy. And moreover, we should be very soon equally convinced of the unworthiness of said minister, and that Dr. Judd would reap the bitter fruit of his (Mr. Wyllie's) intrigue and malice, and yet be a victim to fall by the same hand.

I thanked her again for her offer of French protection and kind interest and friendly warning. I told her I had

great confidence in the prayers of ten thousand hearts, which daily ascended in behalf of the suffering nation. That hitherto God, the righteous Judge, had interposed to save in times of trouble, and I did not believe He would forsake them now. I asked her if she had not heard the bell ringing with the earliest break of day during the past week, to call the people up and down the valley together for special prayer in behalf of the rulers, and assured her that those prayers inspired me with more confidence than a hundred line-of-battle ships. And thus we parted. Madame Dillon took refuge on board the war steamer, and I remained at my own quiet home.

On the evening of the same day Judge Lee and Dr. Judd went on board the *Gassendi*, with the king's dispatches to the admiral, where they remained several hours endeavoring to negotiate a settlement. The French guards were still at their station before the Custom House and Government offices.

Some of my kind neighbors came in to express their sympathies, fearing the commissioners would be detained on board as prisoners of war, or harmed in some way, and were quite surprised to find me *asleep!*

The Hawaiian Government, conscious of right and justice on its side, and regarding these hostile proceedings as at variance with the solemn compact entered into by France and England, November 28, 1843, could not yield nor swerve from its position, let the consequences be what they might. They could only *protest* and appeal to the honor and good faith of France.

The utmost quiet prevails on shore. It is suspected that, in case of further hostilities, the American flag will be run up in place of the Hawaiian, and that will command respect. Consul-General Miller has kindly offered

protection to women and children, and Judge Turril, the American consul, is ready for duty. It is difficult to restrain the tide of indignation called forth among all classes, native and foreign. They would most willingly rush to arms, but any resistance would only afford pretext for further aggression.

September 4th.—The king's yacht was manned by Frenchmen and sent to sea. We watched the little beauty as she glided out of the harbor, with no benedictions on the heads of the actors in these proceedings.

The wrath of M. Dillon is appeased by the wreck of property he has caused, and after exchanging another *billet-doux* with the minister, he has embarked bag and baggage for San Francisco in the *Gassendi.*

In order to appreciate the necessity of this manifestation of French prowess, one must know the magnitude of French interests in these islands. Aside from the priests and their missions, there are twelve French subjects, one of whom is a merchant, who transacts about one-thousandth part of the commercial business of the place.

September 6th.—Dr. Judd returned from Privy Council and handed me the following: "It has pleased the king to nominate G. P. Judd, his Minister of Finance, as his Majesty's Special Commissioner and Plenipotentiary Extraordinary to the Governments of France, England, and the United States."

September 11th.—Dr. Judd is gone. He sailed in the schooner *Honolulu,* Captain Newell, bound for San Francisco, accompanied by the two princes, Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kamehameha. The king, queen, chiefs, and a large concourse of natives and foreigners accompanied them to the ship. The welkin rang with cheers for their success and a speedy return; and all the ships

manned their yards to do them honor. But what consolation does it all afford to wife and children quite away from this demonstration in their own distant dwelling, weeping and watching the little craft that bears from them the joy of their hearts, the light of their home, their stay and staff?

One cargo of French merchandise has been imported and one French ship-of-war has visited the islands during the last five years. French schooners have occasionally brought freight for English and American merchants, and there are a few whalers in the Pacific who touch now and then at this port.

There is no prejudice against Frenchmen as such, and the few residents among us express their unmitigated disapproval of the late proceedings. Admiral De Tromelin is only to be blamed for allowing himself to be the tool in the hands of the consul, as did Lord George Paulet. Both acted contrary to their own convictions of right, but were constrained to do the bidding of their respective consuls.

September 5th.—The French ships are all gone. The war is all over, and we have visited the battle-ground, and what a scene is presented! Those famous old guns, used only for the exchange of friendly and national greetings, which Governor Kekuanaoa prides himself in doing in the most approved military style, all thrown from their carriages, spiked, and mutilated! The ground is covered with broken muskets, cartridge-boxes, bayonets, and swords. Every window and door of the governor's house is broken and battered, and the walls are covered with charcoal sketches. Every box, barrel, and calabash is crushed to atoms. "A glorious victory!"

The winter of 1849 was remarkable for the amount of

rain that fell, and the great number of cloudy, foggy days.

Multitudes from California poured in upon us for food and shelter, from their own inclement regions; and they were accused of bringing their climate with them. All the hotels, boarding-houses, and untenanted buildings became full. Food grew scarce. Prices ran up exorbitantly high, and still the tide of immigration poured in. Flour was thirty dollars per barrel! California gold was scattered about with reckless hands, but no alchemist's skill could change it to bread. Kalo, that nutritious, substantial vegetable (thanks to the toil of the kanaka) did not fail.

Spring came, the rain ceased, and the tide of humanity set back to the *El Dorado*, leaving the evil of high prices and increased wages for all kinds of labor, but binding us with the strong cords of reciprocal interests and mutual dependence.

XXXIX.

Visit of U. S. Ship "St. Mary's"—Address of Commodore Voorhies—The President's Message—E. H. Allen, United States Consul—Breakfast at the Palace—Letters from Dr. Judd and the Princes—California—The Treaty—At the Irving House—In London—At the Foreign Office—In Paris—The British Ambassador—Protracted Negotiations—The Princes Employed—Presentation to Louis Napoleon—The Greek Ambassador—Duc de Broglie—Guizot—Mr. Rives—Return to London.

1849–'50.

THE United States ship-of-war *St. Mary's*, Commodore Voorhies, visited Honolulu in December, and brought the following words of comfort to our desponding sovereign:

"May it please your Majesty, I have had the honor to be appointed by my Government to convey to your shores an envoy, in the person of Charles Eames, Esq., for the purpose of making a friendly treaty with your Majesty, on the principles of reciprocity and mutual advantage. On my way hither, Mr. Eames met at San Francisco with Dr. Judd, your Majesty's representative, and, finding him duly appointed for the purpose, concluded the treaty with him there, of which treaty I had the honor to be the bearer, and placed, as I have no doubt you have been informed, in the hands of His Excellency Mr. Wyllie, your Majesty's Minister of Foreign Relations.

"On the conclusion of this treaty Mr. Eames, United States Commissioner, deemed his mission at an end, and remained at San Francisco, leaving his place open to be filled by a successor, who he presumed was about to be appointed to fill the vacancy.

Otherwise he might have accompanied me, as was originally designed.

"I am most happy to congratulate your Majesty upon the happy arrangement of a question, which I trust will be equally advantageous to both nations. The United States entertain a most friendly interest in the welfare of these Islands. I can not but feel myself to be flattered in having been charged with a matter, by which I have it in my power to say to your Majesty, may the friendly relations so long subsisting between the Government of the Sandwich Islands and the Government of the United States still longer continue, and without interruption."

This kind message was delivered to the king at a special audience at the palace, December 10, 1849.

The king's commissioner and the princes arrived in New York early in December, where they were most kindly received by the city authorities, and shown every possible attention and hospitality. The polished manners of the young men won much favor.

As Monsieur Dillon was in advance, it was necessary to proceed to Europe without delay. The treaty with the United States was therefore committed to our old friend, James J. Jarves, Esq., to finish at Washington.

Extract from President Taylor's message:

"The position of the Sandwich Islands with reference to the territory of the United States in the Pacific, the success of our persevering and benevolent citizens, who have repaired to that remote quarter, in Christianizing the natives, and inducing them to adopt a system of government and laws suited to their capacity and wants, and the use made by our numerous whale-ships of the harbors of the Islands, as places of resort for obtaining refreshments and repairs, all combine to render their destiny peculiarly interesting to us.

"It is our duty to encourage the authorities of those Islands in their efforts to improve and elevate the moral and political condition of the inhabitants; and we should make reasonable allowance for the difficulties inseparable from the task.

"We desire that the Islands may maintain their independence, and that other nations should concur with us in this sentiment. We would in no event be indifferent to their passing under the dominion of another power. The principal commercial States have in this a common interest; and it is to be hoped that no one will attempt to interpo e obstacles to the entire independence of the Islands."

FROM THE JOURNAL.

March 10*th*.—The American Consul, Elisha H. Allen, Esq., of Maine, arrived with the treaty signed at Washington, on the 26th of December, 1849.

In an English newspaper, received by the last mail, I found the notice of the safe arrival of the young princes and Dr. Judd in France, and of a conference had by Monsieur Dillon with the President of the French Republic and the Minister of the Marine at the Champs Elysées. The young princes are mentioned as everywhere giving evidence of good manners and education, and are received with becoming dignity and attention. This is very gratifying.

April 25, 1850.—Invited to breakfast at the palace to meet ex-consul Turril and family. The breakfast was excellent, and elegantly served by the new steward, St. John. The porcelain breakfast service and Bohemian glass, lately received, are very handsome. The king was in excellent spirits, and Mr. Young is always cheerful. A great many pleasant things were said by all parties. His Majesty remarked that he would trust no other man but my husband with such a charge, but he was a physician and guardian, and would take care of the young princes, both soul and body. Mutual regrets were expressed at the separation from Judge Turril and family, who have proved themselves such valuable friends.

The queen's carriage was in readiness to convey Mrs.

Turril and her children to the wharf, where they embarked for San Francisco.

Extracts from letters received in 1850 from Dr. Judd and the princes:

"AT SEA, NEARING SAN FRANCISCO.

". . . . Tuesday, September 11th, was a sad day. We must bear cheerfully this separation which God has willed, as I hope for the good of the nation to whose service we devoted our lives in 1827. God alone can sustain and prosper me under all the trials of this arduous mission. The consciousness of so many imploring the divine blessing upon us, is a source from which I derive consolation and courage of heart.

"The boys appear well. I leave them free to associate with whom they choose on board, and to do as they please, since I find them desirous of doing their best."

"SAN FRANCISCO, *October 4th.*

" . . . . Arrived at one o'clock yesterday. The steamer for New York passed us in the fog the night before we got in. Have met and shaken hands with a great number of people, Commissioner Eames and Commodore Jones among the number. This is a miserable, comfortless place, the weather cold, damp, and foggy. Poor lodgings, no fire, and we pay six dollars a day for each of us. The streets are knee deep in mud, and thronged with fierce-looking men. There are two hundred and fifty ships in the harbor.

"A dentist, who sits opposite me at table, says he charges sixteen dollars for extracting a tooth, and sixteen hundred for a set of new ones!

"Dead bodies are found almost every morning—perished from hunger, cold, and disease; a bullock's hide and an empty cask being their only covering and shelter.

"We have visited the Dolores Mission. The church is going to decay. The present priest is said to be an Indian. I did not see him. A restaurant and liquor-bar are kept in one end of the building. Found an Island acquaintance, who keeps a boarding-

house. Ordered dinner. Had soup, sardines, boiled beef, cabbage, and chocolate, for which we paid *eight dollars*. . . . .

"Met a man from Boston, who came overland. Eight months on the road. Lost all his animals—had the cholera. Two of his companions killed by the Indians. What suffering in this rush for gold! . . . .

"Have been here three weeks and have completed the draft of the treaty with the United States Commissioner, much to my satisfaction. Commodore Voorhies will take a copy to the Islands. It is too wordy, but that is not my fault. The Commodore promises to call and report progress. You will be pleased with him.

"The California press comes out strong in our favor, and condemns the course of Monsieur Dillon. The latter labored hard while here to impress the public mind with the idea that the Hawaiians were incapable and unworthy of independence. He sailed in the last steamer for New York, leaving his family here. We are off on the first, with Captain Budd, formerly in the United States Exploring Expedition. Dr. Winslow and Captain Stetson are fellow-passengers. This will comfort you."

"NEW YORK, *December* 11, 1849.

"We arrived on the 8th, after a delightful passage of nine days from Chagres, stopping at Kingston a few hours—an old, moss-grown English town—where we bought oranges for our New York cousins.

"We are at the 'Irving House.' Our parlor is thronged with company, and our table covered with cards left when we are out. The Mayor paid us a visit with all the honors, and extended the hospitalities of this great city of Gotham to us. I am particularly gratified with this, as you know Americans generally are not very partial to colored people.

"We sail in the Cunard steamer *Canada*, as soon as the tailors are done with us."

"LONDON, Tavistock Hotel.

". . . . Here we are in this great metropolis of the world, a place you have always desired so much to visit. The only alloy

to my happiness is that I am here without you and the children. . . . .

"We stopped at Halifax two hours, where we had a fine sleigh-ride. It was a bright starlight evening, with the thermometer below zero. The princes enjoyed it, though it was very cold. The passage of twelve days across the Atlantic was rough and boisterous, but the *Canada* ploughed her way at the rate of three hundred miles a day, with dignified indifference to wind and waves. We got into Liverpool on the 24th, and whirled into London on Christmas-day. This was our first ride on the railway, and we were delighted with it.

"London remains as it was when you last heard of it, shrouded in smoke and fog. Have seen Mr. Barclay. Lord Palmerston is out of town, spending the holidays; so is everybody else. We shall proceed to France.

"The *Times* of yesterday announces, on the authority of a Paris correspondent, that the French papers give notice of the arrival of 'M. De —— (some French name), Prime Minister of Kamehameha, King of the Sandwich Islands, for the purpose of arranging the late difficulties. That the said M. De —— had been in the service of the king *twelve years*, and was originally a native of the Grand Duchy of Baden!' So you see how clear everything is in France. I think it is too bad that I must fight the battle all over again there, where I can not speak a word of the language, nor *pull a string*, but all must be done by main strength.

"We have visited the House of Commons, Westminster Hall and the Abbey, the Tower, Zoological Gardens, the Museum, and Gallery of Paintings. The young men enjoy themselves, and are in excellent health. Please report to the king.

"The President's Message has come to hand, and adds another item to my hopes. Whether it will influence France or not, we shall see.

"*January 23d.*—Have had a good visit from Admiral Thomas, who has interested himself in our behalf, and obtained a promise from Sir George Gray that I shall see Lord Palmerston as soon as he returns to town.

"Prince Alexander is ill. Sir James Clark attends him. . . . Went to the Foreign Office, by appointment; was kept waiting two hours, as the Viscount was occupied with the Belgian Min-

ister. At half-past seven went up three flights of marble steps into a room adorned with fine paintings, where Lord Palmerston received me very cordially. I gave him some account of our affairs, and asked his advice. He replied he would do all in his power to aid us—would give me a letter to the Marquis of Normanby, British Ambassador in Paris. He could not perceive with what justice the French had injured us. Had better go and try France. That Dillon was a skillful intriguer, and learned it in the Foreign Office. Asked if Englishmen had the same privileges as Americans in the Islands. I assured him, upon my honor, there was no distinction. That Mr. Wyllie was born in England, and I in the United States; and he was likely to favor Americans, and I, Englishmen. He inquired if the natives were intelligent. I replied they were, and well disposed. 'The two princes with me are a good specimen. I shall hope to introduce them to your Lordship on our return from Paris.'

"I explained the treaty and the noble conduct of the United States Government in regard to Commissioner Brown. Told him I had not been to Washington, but came to England first, hoping he would do everything in our behalf. I asked his advice about presenting the treaty first to France. Left a copy in his hands and my letter of credence. I did not forget to mention the good offices of General Miller and his generous offer to mediate and protect in our late troubles. He repeated the assurance that he would do all he could to aid us, and after giving me his hand, I took leave.

"Returned to my hotel and sat up late packing for Paris. At 11 o'clock P.M., received a note from Lord Palmerston, with a letter of introduction to the British Ambassador in Paris. . . . ."

"PARIS, Hotel Meurice, *January 28th.*

". . . . Called upon the Marquis of Normanby. He was gone to the Foreign Office. Saw the chief secretary, who took in my letter from Lord Palmerston. When His Excellency returned, his hands were full of papers, among which I recognized the *Polynesian.* He said His Excellency would see me on Wednesday at 12 o'clock. I concluded time was required to examine the data furnished by Lord Palmerston."

"*January 30th.*—Called on the British Ambassador, who said

he had heard Monsieur Dillon's course was not approved, but knew nothing officially. Said he was to dine with M. La Hitte, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, that day, and would remember me and ask an interview, and wished me to state what I wanted. I replied, I wanted, 1st. An official disavowal of the proceedings of Consul Dillon. 2d. Indemnity. 3d. A new treaty. Had some talk about the duty on brandy. Stated that high duty prevented its use among the natives. That its sale was prohibited altogether at Tahiti by French authority. Told him my time was precious. Hoped we could complete all in a month. He smiled, but looked doubtful and renewed the promise of mentioning me to the French Minister."

Letter from one of the princes:

"PARIS, Hotel Meurice, *April* 4, 1850.

"DEAR FRIEND:—Your letter of December came to hand two weeks ago, when we were very busy writing copies of the treaty between our Government and the United States, to be sent to the Foreign Office here. You can not conceive our feelings when we saw the clerk of the hotel come in with a large package from home.

"We have been in this city more than two months. We like it better than New York or London, the climate especially. We are at the hotel where Mr. Richards and Haalilio stayed in 1843; and some of the waiters remember them very well. It is one of the finest situations in the city, close to the palace and Garden of the Tuileries. The trees are just beginning to put forth their leaves, and this is the first time we have seen spring. Last Sunday the fountains played in the garden, and one spouted the water as high as the steeple of the stone church at Honolulu.

"We take lessons in French two hours every day and spend one hour with our fencing master. I hope we shall be able before we go away to speak French so well that we can talk together when we get home. It is a very sweet language.

"Last night we all went to General La Hitte's, the Minister of Foreign Relations, to a soirée. We saw Monsieur and Madame Dillon.

"We have been detained here longer than we expected, and I fear we shall be obliged to remain still longer. We have be-

come acquainted with a French family who are going out to the islands with the new commissioner, Mr. Perrin, who is appointed to fill M. Dillon's post.

"Your letter gave me great pleasure, as I had received but one since we left. . . . . "

From Dr. Judd:

" . . . . Our young friends are very busy with their lessons, and really improve their time. They attract some attention, and are spoken of in the highest terms by General La Hitte and his daughters, whose soirées we attend.

"Since I wrote you last, I have been, like Mr. Richards, the subject of alternate hopes and fears, employing my time most vigorously in *waiting*. Yesterday I actually sat down in earnest in one of the council rooms at the Foreign Office, with a French agent to discuss and settle, if possible, our difficulties. I go there again to-day.

" We have visited the Louvre, Luxembourg, the Madeleine, St. Denis, Hôtel des Invalides. Have been to St. Cloud and Versailles. Have seen Robert Houdin and heard Madame Sontag. Have made the acquaintance of many distinguished people, received much courtesy and many compliments, but *justice* in a *grass hut* would suit me better than all this magnificence without it.

"*March 7th.*—Attended the reception of the President, Louis Napoleon. The French minister presented us. The President addressed us in French. The minister remarked to him, 'They speak English.' To the princes he said: 'Is this your first visit to Paris? I hope you like Paris.' Alexander replied, with a low bow: 'We are very much pleased with Paris.' To me he said: 'You have come a very long way; I hope you will settle our little quarrels at the islands.' I replied, 'We have great hopes. We trust a great deal to the justice and magnanimity of France. We are anxious to settle as speedily as possible; for if anything should happen to the king in our absence, it would be a great misfortune, as the heir-apparent is in this embassy; and I should be blamed for keeping him away so long.'

"The princes were presented to the British Ambassador, who invited us to call on him every day. We were all presented to

the Grand Duchess of Baden, aunt of the President, who was covered with diamonds, and almost stout enough for a Hawaiian beauty. She spoke in French, praised our uniforms (which we understood), though it was interpreted as praise of the weather.

"General La Hitte assured me all would be settled and the treaty stand. He inquired if our uniforms were made at the islands? I told him no; but the design was the kalo leaf, peculiar to our own islands.

"On our way to the President's we called on the Greek Ambassador, who is here to secure the good offices of the French in settling their late difficulties with England. During our conversation I asked him if they (the Greeks) expected indemnity for their losses? 'No,' he replied, 'we shall be content if they let us alone and do no more damage.'

"*March 11th.*—Visited the Foreign Office and British Minister. Had long conversations and discussions. Am convinced that six months at least will be required to bring matters to a decision, and then the verdict will be against our claims. They expect me to yield; but the king did not send me this long journey to grant what he had refused; and for which refusal he had suffered so much.

"I called on the Duc de Broglie, who is said to be an honest man. Got little encouragement. He said the National Assembly would not disown the acts of their officers. Called on Guizot; stated our three demands. He asked if spirits *were* introduced under our law and high duty? I said, 'Yes, to the amount of five thousand gallons per annum.' 'Then you have acted up to the spirit and intention of the treaty, but the mischief is done and you will get no indemnity. The Socialist party will go against you. There is some hope from the Moderates. Might not the affairs be arranged by arbiters?' He suggested the King of Belgium. Said the King of Denmark did not know much; and the King of Prussia was young and flippant. The Queen of England might appoint a person, but the Greek question was an obstacle, as the French were chosen to mediate. The United States would not be accepted. Americans are too much in your interest. . . . .

"*March 12th.*—Received a note from M. La Hitte, notifying me of the appointment of M. Perrin, with full powers to treat with me in regard to the treaty.

"*March 20th.*—Had a long interview with M. Perrin. Fin ished our first protocol.

"*22d.*—Went again to the Foreign Office. M. Perrin wished to withdraw his protocol, or leave out the arguments and sign only the results. M. Perrin is authorized to say, on the part of France, that the declaration of Admiral de Tromelin, making the treaty of 1846 null and void, was not approved. Discussed the treaty article by article. I refused to bind my Government any further than France is bound in our stipulations.

"*28th.*—M. Perrin came with his memoranda. Says the minister is the accredited agent, and is the one to decide finally. I called an interpreter. The word in the sixth article admits of latitude. It is used for *prohibition*, but may mean *hindrance* or *obstacle*. A long battle upon this one word, and we can not agree. . . . . I foresee no good result.

"Visited Mr. Rives, American Minister. He informed me that the Congress, at Washington, will adjourn early in July. It is important for us to be there before the adjournment. . . . .

"The British Ambassador gives me no hope. Says we have been treated with greater consideration than some nearer neighbors. Received a letter from Mr. Barclay, advising me to break off negotiations, as nothing can be gained, and much may be lost in time and money. Sent a letter to Viscount La Hitte, announcing my intention of leaving Paris on the 9th of April. . . . .

"Isidore, our valet, accompanied us to Dover and took charge of our baggage, which was passed the custom-house without duty or examination, by order of the Treasury Department." . . . .

XL.

The Embassy in England—Visit to Admiral Thomas—Plymouth—The Adelphi—Lord Palmerston—Lord George Paulet and Lieutenant Frere—Buckingham Palace—The French Ambassador—Dining Out—The Treaty Discussed—Mr. Wyllie's Letter.

1850.

ON arriving in London, we reported ourselves to Lord Palmerston, at the Foreign Office, and went to Plymouth to visit Admiral Thomas, two hundred and forty miles from London. Were only ten hours on the way. The good admiral met us at the depot, and took us in his own carriage to his hospitable door. Were introduced to his wife and daughter. Dinner was waiting. Other guests had been invited. We made a hasty toilet, and were introduced to a very pleasant circle. It was gratifying to me to come into contact with a religious family in Europe—and that, too, where mere formality would have been expected by many.

After a night's rest we visited the dockyard and shipping, and saw many curious and wonderful things. (For detail of all our sight-seeing, must refer to my private journal). We were introduced to Sir Thomas Maitland and Admiral Sir William Gage. The latter was Lord of the Admiralty when Thomas was in the Pacific, and approved of his course at the Islands in restoring the kingdom. . . . . On our return to London we visited the Adelphi Hotel, and inquired for the rooms occupied by

the King of the Sandwich Islands in 1823. We were received politely, and shown the very bed and bedstead on which Liholiho died. The chamber-maid remembered Governor Kekuanaoa, and inquired after Madame Boki. We gave each servant a fee and returned to our lodgings.

April 18th.—Presented the princes to Lord Palmerston in his own library at Carlton Garden, where we had a long interview. I went over all the grounds of dispute with France. . . . . Lord Palmerston said the French must give up their demands about the treaty, and we, our claim for indemnity.

After this interview, which occupied four hours and a half, we went to lunch with Admiral Seymour, where we met Lord George Paulet and Lieutenant Frere, of "cession" memory. Both were very cordial, and had much to say about the Islands. Colonel Seymour, son of the admiral, is Equerry-in-waiting to Prince Albert, and proffered his services. . . . .

He took us to Buckingham Palace, where our condescending friend, Lord Palmerston, introduced us to His Royal Highness, Prince Albert. Her Majesty the Queen had retired from the public for a short season. We all did our best to make a good impression. I told Prince Albert that the King of the Sandwich Islands had sent me to Europe to obtain justice from France for injuries received, and that these young princes accompanied me in order to be benefited by foreign travel; that our visit to Paris had been unsuccessful, and we now sought the aid of the greatest diplomat in Europe (designating Lord Palmerston).

His Royal Highness replied, he hoped it was not too late to come between us and France. He made inquiries about the Islands, our journey, etc., which occupied, per

haps, fifteen minutes, when we bowed ourselves out. His Royal Highness gave orders that Mr. Bridges Taylor, a gentleman connected with the Foreign Office, should attend us to Windsor Castle, and show us all we wished to see in London.

On the 20th had a long interview, of two hours and a half, with the French Ambassador in London, and another with Lord Palmerston on the 22d. Begged his Lordship's forbearance with my importunity. Our Islands were small, but our independence of as much consequence to us, as that of great nations to them. I told him I had just received a letter from the king; that he had been reviewing the scene of French spoliation, and felt sadly crippled in his means of defense. Hordes of unprincipled men might pour down upon him from California at any time, and his sovereignty would not be respected; and was not worth possessing, if he was to be subjected to such embarrassments as the French had imposed.

I gave him copies of our treaty with the United States, and of my powers to support the dignity, and independence, and claims of the king. We spent two hours in discussing the peculiar situation of the Islands, looking at the map. Lord Palmerston thinks the French will send a man to the Islands to settle the treaty. I asked if England would send one also. He said yes, unless General Miller would do. I replied, he was well-disposed. His Lordship promised to communicate this to the French Minister, and I took leave.

May 1st.—Dined with Lord and Lady Palmerston. A very splendid affair. Twenty guests were present. Prince Alexander led Lady Palmerston to the table. Lord P. took Lady Seymour, "queen of beauty." Prince Lot, Miss Seymour. In the course of the evening a

gentleman inquired how long these young men had been in England; and, on being told only a few weeks, remarked that they appeared as familiar with society as the best-bred people in England! A lady inquired how they learned to speak English. I told her they were educated in English. "And where did they acquire Court manners?" she asked. We have a little court of our own, I said. Lord Palmerston inquired if we would make a long visit in the United States. I replied that we should visit Washington. He said he would give us a letter to Sir Henry Bulwer. . . . .

The next day we dined at Brompton Park, with Earl Talbot and lady. Sir George Seymour and Lord Sheffield, with many other distinguished guests, were present. Went with Lady Sanford to Almack's, where we saw all the aristocracy of rank, beauty, wealth, and fashion.

This over, we took leave of our friends, Admiral Thomas among the number. Told him how kindly we had been treated. He said it was merited by the kind treatment which English officials had received at the Islands. Our amiable friend, Hon. Bridges Taylor, attended us to Liverpool and paid our expenses to Boston, per order of Her Majesty's Government. . . . .

It is easy to see that the Greek question, in which France is chosen umpire, makes it a delicate matter for England to interfere in our difficulties and coerce the French, either at the Sandwich Islands or Tahiti. I learned a diplomatic maxim in England, which is worth recording: "Never tell a lie—and strictly avoid the truth."

The day before we left England, we had an introduction to Mrs. Abbott Lawrence and daughter. I had heard the American Ambassador make a speech in Exeter Hall before the London Bible Society, which elicited great applause. We received cards to attend Mrs. Lawrence's

first reception, but were obliged to decline, as we were to leave London on that day.

I will just mention that the object of my last interview with Lord Palmerston on the 26th was to persuade him to induce France to unite with England in adopting a treaty similar to that of the United States; and that the three nations should agree, that in case of any difficulty between *us* and any one of the three, it should be settled by reference to the other two; also to secure our neutrality in war. . . . .

I have received the Honolulu *Times*, in which appears Mr. Wyllie's letter to me, of November 18, 1847, which I never answered. Judge Lee can relate to you a conversation that took place between Mr. Wyllie and myself respecting it. I am always glad I did not waste my time in attempting to reply. It would have involved a long correspondence and interfered with my official duties, which absorbed all my time. Do not allow yourself to feel cool toward Mr. Wyllie on account of the letter. We have had some explanation about the manner it became public. If necessary, I can require still more on my return. But I hope it will not be necessary. Why should we contend among ourselves, who are struggling so hard for the life of the land?

XLI.

Return to the U. S.—Letter from one of the Princes—Washington—Funeral of Calhoun—Reception at President Taylor's—Letter from Dr. Judd—An Anecdote—Daniel Webster—Fête Champêtre at Staten Island—Niagara—Return to the Islands—Results of the Embassy.

"BOSTON, *May* 20, 1850.

"ARRIVED on the 17th, after a cold passage of thirteen days among the icebergs. Shall make short visits among many friends; go to Washington *via* New York; attend to our business and get back to the Islands, if possible, before the arrival of the French agent."

Letter of one of the princes:

"We have just returned from Washington, after having seen the President and members of Congress. We visited the Senate and House of Representatives; heard speeches; were introduced to some, among whom was Mr. Clay. We also attended a funeral of one of the members,* and wore our uniforms, as is the custom in our country, but no one else wore court dresses; so we were singular, and some people stared at us, as we do at the officers of the navy when they visit the Islands.

"In the evening of the same day we attended General Taylor's reception, and were presented to the President. We were introduced to and talked with a great many people, and talked with some to whom we were not introduced, as they do in Europe.

"Mr. Jarves was with us in Washington, and has got the treaty finished.

"We staid at the Revere House in Boston on our return from

* John C. Calhoun.

Europe. Occupied the rooms prepared for Jenny Lind, and saw the élite of the city.

"Attended the opera and had to pay twenty dollars for our tickets. In Europe we have better music for less money.

"Mr. Jarves says there is a grand party to be given, especially for us, on Staten Island, on the 10th. Fourteen hundred people are invited, and it will cost three thousand dollars! I am not very anxious about it.

"I long to be at home. Your father is 'tres gros,' as the Frenchmen say. I am afraid you will not know him; and we were never in better health.

"I did not write you from San Francisco, as I promised. I knew you would not like to hear about sufferings and murders and gamblers, and what else could I write about from there?

"We spent four months in Europe, and the climate agreed with us perfectly. When in London we thought that the greatest city in the world; but however that may be with regard to London's greatness, it can never, I think, compete with Paris in gayety and splendor. There are a great many places of amusement. The ladies are 'tres charmantes.' We attended a great many evening parties, 'conversations' they are called. After presenting yourself to the lady of the house, you can stay as long as you please and go away when you like. At intervals very delicate refreshments are brought around by the waiters.

"We were enchanted with Paris, and urged your father to stay longer. You would be delighted with the magnificence of the palaces and paintings, but most of all with the fine music. But I will tell you all about Europe when I get home. We have finished the most important part of our embassy, and shall be home in a few months. LIHOLIHO."

From Dr. Judd:

"WASHINGTON, *May*, 1850.

". . . . Met Mr. Seward in the Senate, who came and invited us to the floor, and introduced us to Clay, Houston, Smith, Butler, Green, and Dawson. The capitol is splendid; the grounds laid out somewhat like Versailles, but much smaller. Met many old friends, who have been to the Islands. Went with Captain Wilkes to the Museum and Patent Office, where, among many interesting objects, I saw my old *cake of lava* [p. 102].

"At the President's reception an American lady asked Prince Alexander how he liked American ladies? 'Very well,' he replied. 'Which do you think the prettiest, or which do you prefer, the American or those of your own country?' 'That is a difficult question, one does not like to speak ill of their countrywomen,' was the prince's reply. The flippant young lady turned to me and said, 'How very complimentary! But *I* should not like to sit on that throne.' 'Would you not like to *support it?*' I asked. 'Yes,' she replied.

". . . . We called on Mr. Webster, who was more formal, cold, and stiff than any lord in Europe.

"Captain Wilkes made a grand party, where we met all the Washingtonians. Miss Wilkes, a very accomplished young lady, did the honors. The entertainment would have pleased you. We had strawberries and cream; and the flowers were the finest I ever saw, all from their own grounds, and planted by Mrs. Wilkes, the late presiding genius of the household.

"Dined with Sir Henry Bulwer, where we met the Prussian Ambassador, who knows Mr. Wyllie and inquired after him. Also met the Danish Minister, who remarked that he was disgusted with the heartlessness of Governments; that neither England or Russia, nor any strong power, would be faithful to Denmark.

"Mr. Clayton promises to notify France and England that his Government *will not look with indifference upon any act of oppression committed or any attempt to take the Islands.* They would give orders for defense in such an event. His official letter was a good one." . . . .

"NEW YORK, *June 10th.*

"Attended Mrs. C——'s 'Fête champêtre,' at Clifton, where hundreds of the elite from the city and Staten Island were assembled. A fairy scene! A galaxy of beauty! The lady of the mansion, the star of the evening, fairly led one of the princes captive by her charms. I did not enjoy it. Sword and cocked hat, worn on the occasion by particular request, precluded every idea of comfort."

After a visit to Niagara and spending one week with Dr. Judd's aged, widowed mother, the embassy returned

to the Islands *via* Panama, having been absent two days less than a year. The young princes were in excellent health and spirits; and much improved in mind and manners and looking quite handsome.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, to whom the embassy reported on their return, *blamed them for not succeeding in settling the contested points of the treaty at the Court of France and reclaiming indemnity for the fort spoliations*, and also for not securing the interest for seven years upon the twenty thousand dollars which La Place took away, and Admiral Hamelin returned, the same coin in the same boxes. It may be rejoined that His Excellency has been occupied for *nine years* since in the same contest with the same accredited French agent at the Islands.

The contest was closed in 1859, by Mr. Wyllie yielding to France the long-contested items of the treaty, and accepting, in place of indemnity for the hundred thousand dollars damages, a few French "nick-nacks."

XLII.

Mr. Armstrong's Address—Good Advice—Events in 1850 *and* 1851*—Royal Haw. Agricultural Soc.—Judge Lee's Address—Extract from Mr. Wyllie's Address—Don Marin's Journal—His Character—Eruption on Mauna Loa—Distilling and Wine-Making.*

1850–'51.

EXTRACT from Mr. Armstrong's address to the natives on their receiving their lands:

"Read the resolutions of the Privy Council, published in this paper, which have already designated and settled the rights of the common natives to lands which they occupy. Now, then, my fellow-subjects, let us advise you a little.

"1st. Be not obstinate in insisting upon every little crook and corner in your land, but consult together and unite one piece with another, so that several may be enclosed in the same patent, so as to accommodate yourselves. This uniting several pieces into one lessens the charge of the Land Commission. Do it quickly. Do not put it off.

"2d. When you have obtained your patents, what will you do? Just as you did before? Ride about from place to place, work a little and idle about a great deal, sleep, and talk? If so, your trouble and expenses in obtaining patents will be utterly useless. You should act thus:—Let the wife remain at home and put the house in order; and the husband go out and cultivate the land, day by day. Be industrious, and fit up your houses and house-lots. Furnish yourselves with chairs, beds, plates, bowls, knives and forks, spoons, and glasses. Provide separate sleeping-rooms for parents and children; and increase the produce of your lands. Rest not until you are comfortably supplied with all these good things. Plant all kinds of trees in your lands—the fig, coffee,

guava, orange, bread-fruit, cocoanut, and all kinds of flowering shrubs, so that your lands may be embellished with beautiful plants and trees.

"Take proper care of your children, so you be not destitute of heirs to your lands. Let your daughters remain at home with the mother. Teach them to sew, wash, iron, make mats and hats, and seek after knowledge. The little girls should go to school. The older boys should work with their fathers, for, as the land will become theirs, they should work upon and improve it.

"You should also live in accordance with the Word of God—for your lands will do you no good if you disregard His com mands by quarreling, drinking, and licentiousness, devoting yourselves to pleasure and breaking the Sabbath. Furnish your children with maps, books, and other things, to help them acquire knowledge.

"If you now continue poor, needy, living in disorder in miserable huts, your lands lying waste and passing into other hands, whose fault will it be? Whose but yours? Some say this country is going to ruin through your laziness and ignorance. Is it so? Then be it so no longer! Rouse up and act as those wish you to do who have a real regard for your welfare!"

In looking over an old journal, I find the following items recorded, as distinguishing the years 1850 and '51: Publication of the Penal Code of Laws, revised by Judge Lee; Post-office Regulations, naming the streets in Honolulu; laying water-pipes from the valley to the town; arrival of a new U. S. Commissioner, L. Severance and family; a Chamber of Commerce; a fire company; public reading-room; market laws; Board of Health and a town clock; proposals, also, to erect a house of worship for foreign residents, so as to leave more room in the Bethel for the crowds of seamen who visit this port; also the formation of the Royal Agricultural Society.

Extract from Judge Lee's address before the "R. H. Agricultural Society":

"This is no common gathering. In a small island of the Pacific, which, thirty years ago, was buried in the darkness of heathenism, and scarcely known to the civilized portions of the earth, in a country whose uplands were then slumbering in the almost unbroken rest of ages, and whose lowlands knew little culture but that of the kalo patch, there has this day assembled the planter, who counts his hundreds of acres of sugar-cane and coffee-trees; the farmer, raising cargoes of vegetables for California; and the herdsman, who gathers in his folds a thousand cattle. Indeed, this is no every-day assemblage.

"Who, in the days of the distinguished discoverer of these islands—of the great and good Vancouver, or in the still later times of the arrival of the American missionaries on these savage shores, would have dared to predict that, in the year of our Lord 1850, there would gather in these ends of the earth, from Europe, from Asia, from North and from South America, from Old England and from New England, such a body as we now see? Who, at that time, would have staked his reputation on such a prophecy? Verily, my friends, I hail this assemblage with joy. I hail it as an advancing step toward the thorough civilization of the Hawaiian race, and the security of its national prosperity and independence. Great as is the contrast presented to us between the present and thirty years ago, in the view we have just taken, I venture to predict that those who fill our places thirty years hence, will see a far greater one between that time and the present year, 1850. They will see our valleys blooming with coffee and fruit trees, our barren hill-sides waving with luxuriant cane-fields, our worthless plains irrigated and fruitful, and the grass huts now scattered over our lands, replaced by comfortable farm-houses.

"Until the last year the Hawaiian held his land as a mere tenant at sufferance, subject to be dispossessed at any time it might suit the will or caprice of his chief, or that of his oppressive 'luna.' Of what avail was it to the common people to raise more than enough to supply the immediate wants of their subsistence? Would the surplus belong to them, or afford the means of future independence? Far from it. It would go to add to the stores of their despotic lords, who claimed an absolute right in all their property, and who periodically sent forth their hordes of 'lunas' to scour the country and plunder the people.

I thank God that these things are now at an end, and that the poor kanaka may now stand on the border of his kalo patch, and holding his fee-simple patent in his hand, bid defiance to the world. Yes, I thank God that He has moved the heart of the king and chiefs of these islands to let the oppressed go free.

"The granting of the royal patents to the common people for their lands is the brightest jewel that adorns the crown of Kamehameha III., and one that will shine with increasing lustre long after his body shall moulder to its mother earth. The lands are now thrown open to all classes—the native and foreigner, subject and alien. What a fund of wealth lies hid in the slumbering energies of 2,500,000 acres! Enough to feed 5,000,000 inhabitants, and load a hundred first-class ships annually with our surplus produce.

"There is one agent, however, that we require, who holds the key of success—the great brawny-armed, huge-fisted giant called *labor*. Agriculture has been let alone, and the people's rights so long withheld, that now, when the dark cloud, which has hovered upon them for ages, is lifting, there is hardly a nation to save. Alas! and must this peeple, possessed of so many kind, generous traits, perish from the face of the earth? Perish, too, not by famine, nor pestilence, nor the sword, but by the rust of indolence—the canker of sloth? Shall we let them die without making one struggle to save them from the grave to which they are hastening? No, my friends, justice and humanity forbid. Though but a lone remnant remains, let us strive to gird it with strength to wrestle with its approaching destiny; to arm it with the healthy body and vigorous frame, the only weapon that can stay the hands of the destroyer. Then if our last hope fail, if all our efforts to send a quickening life-pulse through the heart of the wasting nation avail not, we can but commend it to Him, in whose hands are the issues of life and death—to Him who numbereth the nations as the small dust of the balance, and taketh up the isles as a very little thing."

Extract from Mr. Wyllie's address:

"Nor was agriculture unknown to the ancient Hawaiian. The early navigators, Cook and Vancouver, have recorded their skill and ingenuity in conducting water in conduits to fertilize their fields.

"We find the following productions on the Islands seventy-two years ago: kalo, of large size, sweet potatoes, bananas, yams, and bread-fruit; sugar-cane, coccanuts, awa, gourds, hogs, fowls, geese, large white pigeons. Fourteen years afterward we find the following new productions: water-melons, musk-melons, and goats. I have taken some pains to ascertain to whom the Islands are indebted for these productions.

"Sunday, February, 1778, Cook left on Niihau goats, hogs, seeds of pumpkins, melons, and onions. Captain Calnet left sheep on Kauai before Vancouver arrived. March 4, 1792, Captain Vancouver left a vine, orange-plants, almonds, and garden seeds, and a goat and kid on the island of Hawaii, for Kaiana and Keeaumaku. February 4, 1793, he landed cattle and sheep from California for Kamehameha 1st."

Among the rubbish in the cellar of the house of the premier, Kekauluohi, which we occupied two years, was found an old dilapidated journal, written in Spanish, which Mr. Wyllie translated.

It appears that Don Francisco De Paulo Marin came to the Sandwich Islands in 1791. The first entry in the journal is November 14, 1809. He speaks of making gardens and planting pine-apples, oranges, beans, cabbages, fig-trees, melons, tobacco, etc., and making cigars, kukui oil, candles, hay; and of acting in the several capacities of butcher, cook, mason, ship-carpenter, and physician.

"*June* 27, 1813.—Engaged in making nails.

"*February* 24, 1815.—Engaged in planting vines for the king.

"*July* 6, 1815.—Made fifty-eight gallons of wine.

"*July* 13, 1815.—Made five flasks of brandy.

"*December*, 1815.—Made a barrel of beer.

"*December* 30, 1817.—Planted coffee, cotton, made pickles, lime, soap, molasses; sowed wheat, barley, planted cloves, tomatoes, saffron, cherries, turnips, pepper, etc.

"*April* 15, 1819.—Sent for to cure the king" (with whom he resided until May 8th, when he says), "King Kamehameha 1st died, aged sixty years and six months.

"*August* 27*th.*—Engaged in selling vegetables to a French ship-of-war.

"*September* 22*d.*—They brought me the first oranges, though I planted the seeds eight years ago.

"*November* 4*th.*—Bartered sandal-wood for rum.

"*December* 8*th.*—Received the commission of captain.

"*May* 4, 1820.—This day arrived a middling-sized brig, called the *Thaddeus* bringing American missionaries to these Islands."

It is enough to say that the old gentleman lived till October, 1837, when he died at the age of sixty-three. I am sorry to add that he was very selfish about his plants, never parting with a seed or slip, if he could avoid it. When he trimmed his vines and roses, he would make bonfires, instead of distributing among others what he prized so highly himself. When we arrived at Honolulu, in 1828, there was not a vine or fig-tree to be found outside of his garden, except a few obtained from other sources. A farmer accompanied the first missionaries to these Islands, who brought a great variety of plants and seeds.

Lord Byron brought coffee plants from Rio Janeiro in 1824; Captain Little, from Batavia, some years later. Richard Charlton, Esq., English Consul, brought others from Manilla, which Governor Kekuanaoa planted in Manoa Valley. The latter were the parent stock of Hawaiian coffee plantations.

In August, 1851, it was stated, on good authority, that Hawaiian produce to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars could be furnished at short notice; but unfortunately the market was over-stocked, and there were no purchasers or ships to take it to California. Irish potatoes rotted in the ground, and onions and other vegetables scarcely paid the expense of digging. This was very discouraging to the agriculturists who had ex-

pected to realize fortunes speedily by turning over the soil.

In the same year there occurred an extraordinary eruption from the crater on Mauna Loa, rolling down the sides of the mountain fourteen thousand feet, sweeping everything before it, bearing trees and rocks with resistless force upon its bosom. The light was seen seventy miles at sea, and reflected shadows distinctly at Kau, thirty miles off. It broke out with a tremendous report, like the explosions of cannon.

While this magnificent display of fire-works was pouring out of nature's great laboratory on Hawaii, the champions of progress across the channel, at the metropolis, were maintaining a spirited paper warfare on the subject of native distilleries, and the cultivation of the grape in order to make wine; and the reduction of duty on spirituous liquors.

On one side it was argued that high duties increased smuggling, that cheap liquor diminished drunkenness, and that a moderate use of wine was Scriptural, and conducive to benevolence and long life. These arguments brought down an avalanche of statistics to prove a contrary opinion. The contest continued week after week, and month after month, consuming pages of our weekly journal, with increasing temperatures, till the subject was threadbare.

XLIII.

Filibusters—Report of Minister—Military Preparations—Counter Arguments—The Atmosphere Clearing up—Progress.

1852.

THE increased intercourse between California and the Islands led to an intimate acquaintance. The knowledge of our physical weakness had well-nigh made us a prey to our daring neighbors. Our little community was thrown into spasms by reading the following in a California paper:

"It would appear that our eagles, in their westward flight, have not yet found a resting-place.

"Several young eaglets are trimming their wings for a flight to the Sandwich Islands. To speak plainly—it is said that a party are about to embark, with the intention of settling there. They take their arms with them, with the design of forcibly abolishing the monarchy, and establishing a republic."

The Minister of Foreign Relations made the following report before the Hawaiian Legislature, April, 1852:

". . . . Under a sense of loyalty to the king, it became my duty to lay before His Majesty, in Privy Council, the warnings I had received, of the organization in San Francisco of a band of adventurers, with the intention of invading this kingdom. Where the danger appeared imminent, it did not seem wise to trust entirely to the protection of the U. S. Commissioner and of their naval forces in the harbor, or to neglect the sound and friendly advice of Captain G——. Accordingly, on the 10th of November last, the king being absent, I gave notice that I would move before

his council for the organization of a force of thirteen hundred men for the Island of Hawaii, eleven hundred for Maui, eighteen hundred for Oahu, five hundred and seventy for Kauai, two hundred and fifty for Molokai, thirty for Niihau, and fifty mounted lancers in Honolulu, for the guard of His Majesty's person. . . . . It has pleased His Majesty to create the crown prince, Alexander Liholiho, his Lieutenant-General over the armed forces of his Islands; and to appoint Prince Lot Kamehameha a General of Division.

"Now it occurs to me, Ought the small force, organized at an expense of thirteen thousand five hundred dollars, and of much labor on the part of Lieutenant Reed (in drilling) to be kept up, or ought it to be disbanded? Are we, who were rich enough to spend twenty-five thousand eight hundred and ninety-two dollars, in the years 1850 and '51, for the support of public schools, so poor now that we can not continue to raise money for the schools, and to support a body of properly-armed and disciplined men to quell an intestine riot, to drive off pirates, or repel from our shores a band of desperadoes bent on war and plunder on private account? I am one who thinks we are not. I would say, *Keep up the State*, and let every district or parent support its own schools."

Other friends, equally loyal to both king and nation, argued against this policy, for the following reasons:

1*st*. That the nation's strength is not and can not be made to consist in physical force, but in moral power; and the more we rely on the first and discard the second, the weaker we shall be.

2*d*. We have no men to spare for the indolent life of soldiers. We need all the natives for work, to be producers, and not mere consumers.

3*d*. The expense of a standing army would drain the treasury and involve the Government in a debt which would ruin it. The money is all wanted for internal improvements, such as building bridges, making roads, improving the wharves, and in erecting a new prison, which is a national necessity.

4th. Because an army is demoralizing, fosters vanity, promotes discord, and weakens the sympathy of friends whose aid alone can sustain us in the right.

A well-organized, strong police force is all our exigencies require, and this we have without troops.

The schoolmaster's spelling-book and Bible are better than swords and muskets; and it is a far more convincing evidence of strength and civilization to know that twenty thousand letters are passing through our post-offices, written by natives, than to know that a thousand men can keep step passably to fife and drum.

Thanks to the friendly and protective policy of the Commissioner of the United States, the Hon. L. Severance, who detained the United States ship-of-war *Vandalia* in port all winter, the king's Government was unmolested, and families felt secure from any sudden surprise or invasion. A few suspicious persons appeared, but the only misdemeanor proved against them was abstracting some letters from the mail-bag on their way hither, by which they hoped to escape an unpleasant introduction.

XLIV.

A Dark Chapter—The Small-pox—How Introduced—Vaccination—Board of Health—Sedition Fomented—Indignation Meetings—Committee of Thirteen—Petitions—Panic at the Palace—Resignation of the Ministers—A Torchlight Procession—Dr. Judd a Private Citizen—Letter from Lahaina.

1853.

IT is always a pity to stir up the muddy pools of the past, especially when once fairly settled. I prefer the sunny side of life, and leave those whose tastes it may suit to open up dark dens to public view, and rake in noisome gutters for aliment.

Unhappily, life is not all sunshine, but clouds and shadows must form a part of its history, to remind us that we are pilgrims in a sin-stricken world.

Early in the summer of 1853 that terrible pestilence, the small-pox, made its appearance in our beautiful islands; how or whence introduced is still a mystery. It is supposed that the infection was brought in some trunks of old clothes sold at auction and scattered among the natives. The first victims were two women, who washed some of these articles. The first cases were so light as not to be noticed or known till a whole neighborhood had been infected; and before efficient sanitary regulations could be enforced, the victims, in their ignorance and fright, had scattered the infection far and wide.

Great efforts had been made in former years to vacci-

nate the people very extensively, and thus avert a calamity so much to be dreaded. Medical men and missionaries had taken great pains to procure vaccine virus; but a long sea voyage often injured its vitality or destroyed it altogether. When obtained, the very best depreciated rapidly in the native system, affording protection to a few hundreds only before losing all its virtue.

When the fact became known that the disease was here, prompt measures were adopted by the authorities to arrest and confine its progress, and ameliorate the sufferings of its victims. An ample appropriation of money was made to purchase suitable food and medicine, and a committee was chosen to visit and distribute them.

It is sickening to recall those days, when a little patch of yellow calico, waving on a pole, indicated pestilence and suffering within. The Board of Health and undertakers were busy men. Physicians and the visiting committee bowed down and became at times utterly prostrate in their untiring efforts by night and by day to dispense medicine, food, and comfort. The Pale Horse and his rider strode on, counting the vanquished by thousands, in spite of human effort, till the destroying angel had finished his work.

There were those who saw and acknowledged the hand of God in this visitation, and hastened to bow themselves in prayer and penitence. A portion of the foreign element in Honolulu, I regret to say, took this occasion to foment strife, sedition, and other evil work. That ubiquitous family of croakers had its representatives, who affirmed that the direful disease would never be eradicated in such a climate. Ships would forsake forever our once sunny isles. Our commercial prospects were entirely ruined, and the nation's doom sealed.

Indignation meetings were held, and inflammatory speeches addressed to the rabble. A committee of thir teen was chosen to revolutionize the Government, and reconstruct it to suit themselves. The first act was to fix upon a victim on whom to charge the calamity. The lot fell upon the Rev. R. Armstrong and Dr. G. P. Judd, two men who perhaps had done more than any other to avoid it. They were accused of introducing the scourge, for the purpose of destroying the people. They were stigmatized as traitors and wholesale murderers of the deepest dye, and no pains were spared to rouse the natives, and exasperate them to deeds of revenge. Petitions were addressed to the king, to remove them from office, under vague and unfounded charges. Agents were hired to take the petitions around the island for signatures, under various pretenses; some signed, expecting relief from taxes; others supposed the census was being taken, and very few discerned the truth from falsehood.

I would not drag before the public the names of those who suggested, at the sitting of the Secret Tribunal, the idea of tearing a father from his family, and at the hour of midnight, without judge or jury, commit him in an open boat to the broad ocean, unprovided with oars, food, or water! I had this confession from the lips of one of the Thirteen. May God forgive them, as I do, and as I hope to be forgiven. To the credit of humanity, be it said, some of the actors in these scenes were strangers in the land and grossly misled. They saw their folly too late, and lived to regret it.

The leaders were men of selfish ambition, with little to lose and much to gain. If successful in revolutionizing the Government, they hoped to fill their pockets with spoils, and then annex the Islands to the United

States. The native rulers were cajoled and threatened by turns, and promised, that by sacrificing the obnoxious ministers, peace and harmony would be restored.

One day the sheriff, an Englishman, was seized by *three* of the Thirteen, kept a close prisoner for some hours, thoroughly frightened, and made to believe that unless the Minister of Finance at least resigned, blood would be shed. This bold move produced a panic at the palace. Field-pieces were hastily dragged in at night to protect the person of the king, whose life was supposed to be in danger. The old heroes, Hoapili, Kaahumanu, and Kuakini, were in their graves, and the race of Hawaiian braves was nearly extinct. Wearied with turmoil, and overcome with strong drink, the king sent a messenger for Dr. Judd one evening, and demanded his resignation. This was very unexpected surely, but as the royal wish was about to be complied with on the following morning, persons of rank and influence requested him to wait a little, as other counsels were likely to prevail with the king.

Such was the attitude of affairs, when, for reasons best known and approved by themselves, the other ministers of the Cabinet sent in their commissions to the king. Dr. Judd did the same. He was the more ready to retire from the Government service (although he considered the manner in which it was brought about dishonorable), as the candidate for his office was an experienced lawyer, and in every way qualified to cope with the intrigues of the time.

The august Thirteen were checkmated, although they boasted of triumph and victory. A torchlight procession with music and banners paraded the town, and called at the house of the new incumbent, with speeches and hurrahs. The following is the preamble to one of the

resolutions passed at their last meeting, after which they disbanded:

"*Whereas*, The relief of a people from bondage and a malignant tyranny, and a transition into the enjoyment of the delightful influences of liberty, free conscience, and independent actions, justify a public demonstration of joy," etc.

Sentiments which need no comment.

Relief from the cares of State, endured for years through a sea of troubles, was sweeter than the friendship of kings. Dr. Judd remarked one day to a friend, that he thought few generals ever came off from so long a campaign with fewer scars or less injury to their uniforms.

XLV.

Hopes of Annexation—A Fourth of July Celebration—Death of Kamehameha III.—His Character—A Commoner's Biography.

ON the 4th of July, 1854, the foreign community expressed their hopes of annexation by a grand celebration of the day. A car, decorated with evergreens, in which were seated thirty-two girls of American parentage, dressed in white, wreathed in flowers, each bearing the name of a State on her sash, in large gold letters, was drawn by a power unseen. Next followed "Young America," a company of very young men in uniform, with another triumphal chariot, on which was placed a beautiful boy, the very personification of health, strength, and beauty. "Young Hawaii" was in tow, and represented by a boat gaily trimmed, in which were eight young native lads, fancifully dressed, and carelessly eating sugar-cane.

The procession marched through the principal streets to the stone church, where an eloquent address was delivered by the American Commissioner, in which it was more than hinted that a new star was about to be added to the glorious constellation.

The signatures were yet wanting; His Majesty more determined and impatient than ever, when he was taken suddenly ill, and died in three weeks.*

---

* A statute was passed at this time by both Houses of the Legislature, authorizing the alienation of the sovereignty upon certain contingencies. The possibility of this happening tended, probably, more than any

It can not be denied that the character of King Kaui keaouli was marred by grave faults. It must also be admitted that he possessed virtues, and many noble traits of heart and mind. His friendships were true and faithful. He was generous to a fault, and his heart was tender and loving as a woman's. He was merciful and shrunk from the sight of human suffering, having great regard for human life. It is a little remarkable that in all the civil dissensions and foreign raids which occurred during his reign, not one life was lost, nor a drop of blood spilt.

After his Government was established, he never compromised the State, nor disclosed State secrets, even in his revels among designing tempters. In times of peril and difficulty, he always sought the advice of men of unquestioned integrity and unswerving virtue. He did not intrust important offices to men of loose morals

---

thing else, to alienate Kamehamehas IV. and V. from all those whom they thought would favor such a scheme. Late events have shown that, with a favorable Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States, the native Government can be upheld, and prosperity and security maintained. For the last twenty-five years no one has seriously desired annexation. An independent native sovereignty has thus far given persons of all nationalities, residing at the Islands, ample protection, and every lover of the Hawaiian race must rejoice in the preservation of its autonomy for these many years past. It would be difficult to find a country where the sentiment of nationality is stronger than among the aboriginal Hawaiians; but the preservation of the native Government is due, not so much to this sentiment, as to the unwavering efforts of the early foreign advisers of Kamehameha III. to maintain the Hawaiian State, independent of dictation, free from protectorates, and without "residents" of foreign powers. Between 1830 and 1850 there were several crises when a single misstep, or even a single deflection from loyalty to principle, on the part of the king's advisers, would have been fatal to the existence of the kingdom.—A. F. J.

or known corrupt principles. He adopted the advice of Fénélon to his royal pupil, and chose for his counselors men who dare contradict his opinions, and who cared more for his reputation and prosperity than his favor.

He did not profess himself to be a religious man, in the strict sense of the word, yet he fostered the element among his people by treating their religious teachers with great respect, and in attendance upon public worship, where he listened with attention and reverence. He frequently addressed public assemblies, always exhorting the people to attend to instruction, to read the Word of God, and practice what he said to them, and not to follow his example, which was wrong.

His powers of observation were remarkably keen, and the amount of general knowledge he picked up, of history, men, and things, was quite astonishing, especially as his knowledge of the English language was very limited.

Among his first public acts was a solemn dedication of his kingdom to the Lord Jesus Christ. A book of remembrance is kept, and let the future of the Hawaiian nation be what it may, the King of kings will regard the record, when all earthly thrones, and kingdoms, and principalities are overturned, and their names blotted out.

As no exact information could be obtained as to when King Kauikeaouli was born, it was resolved in Privy Council, as before stated, that the 17th of March be observed as a holiday, in commemoration of the event. His mother was Keopuolani, wife of Kalaniopuu, King of Hawaii at the time of Captain Cook's visit. He was slain by Kamehameha 1st, and she became the wife of the conqueror. She was the first Christian convert, was

baptized by Rev. William Ellis, at Lahaina, and died September 16, 1823. She left three children — Liholiho, Kauikeaouli, and a daughter, Nahienaena. King Kauikeaouli died at Honolulu, December 15, 1854, was laid in state at the palace till January 10, 1855, when his funeral was attended with great pomp and magnificence. Wrapped in the feather cloak of his ancestors, his body was placed in the royal tomb, where he sleeps with his fathers.

The following is a scrap of native biography:

Old Hawaii is a native of East Maui. He can not tell what year he was born. Has lived with his present wife forty years. He was trained to dance the *hula*, and play a game of skill called *moa*. He did little else than practice these Hawaiian accomplishments till he arrived at the maturity of manhood.

His attention was first attracted to the *palapala* and religious things on hearing read, in his own language, the first lines in their first printed book:

> "Go and sin no more.
> Cease to do evil—learn to do well."

He had suffered for several years with a diseased hand. In 1829 he had it amputated, and recovered his early vigor. His gratitude to the surgeon who performed the operation was unbounded and very remarkable. For a period of twelve years he did not fail once to bring a weekly token of it, in kalo, sweet potatoes, or sugar-cane; and remembers his benefactor up to the present time (1861), in an occasional offering. The children call him one of their "institutions."

His piety is of no ordinary character. He has never

relapsed into any old habits, nor grown careless in religious duties. Once, when I was very ill, he came to my room unbidden. I caught a glimpse of him as he was entering, but feeling too weak to talk, closed my eyes and feigned sleep. He stood one moment, then went to a distant part of the room, kneeled down and prayed in such soft, subdued, earnest tones, that I might be spared to my husband, children, friends, native neighbors, and have long years yet to fill with usefulness and devotion, that I forgave the intrusion from my heart, long before he had finished his supplications.

When we were about to break the family circle, for a short visit to the fatherland, in 1855, he came, with many others, to express his parting *aloha*. I said to him: "We are about to embark on the ocean, to visit lands where we shall be strangers. My heart is heavy. I have many fears, lest our family, thus broken up and separated, will never all meet again in our tropic home." He regarded me in sober, quiet earnestness for a moment, as if collecting his thoughts, then he said: "When Dr. Judd and the young princes went to foreign lands, did not we, native Christians up the valley here, have a morning prayer-meeting all the while they were absent, in their behalf? Did not I make a tour of this island, and Molokai also, to stir up native Christian kindred, to supplicate unitedly the blessing and protection of God for them? Did they not go and return in health and safety? God hears the united prayers of His children, and always will hear them. Now, you go right along, in the plain path of duty. Never fear if the winds blow or the sea rages around you; nothing will harm you, for we shall bear you up like this," (holding up his one hand and mutilated arm).

I felt humbled and comforted by the expression of

such simple trust in God in this old man, born and trained in heathenish, degrading worship of idols. During fourteen months of absence and travel, often in untried and startling scenes, my mind reverted to old Hawaii,* and the band of Christians daily pleading for us in our far-off Pacific home.

---

* He died in 1875—probably a hundred years old.

XLVI.

Honolulu in 1861—*Statistics*—*Census*—*Buildings*—*The Queen's Hospital*—*Markets*—*Lawyers and Doctors*—*King Kamehameha IV.*—*A Free Press*—*The Catholics*—*Amusements*—*Climate*—*Cemetery*—*The People*—*Present Wants.*

A YOUNG lawyer in Brooklyn asked me, during my late visit there, "What kind of a place is Honolulu? I can only think of the Sandwich Islands as the place where Cook was killed and eaten, and as now containing but two classes of people—our American missionaries and the heathen." I assured him the Hawaiians were never a nation of cannibals; that they did not eat Captain Cook. His body was dissected, according to native custom, his heart placed on a tree to dry, where, as I have already said, it was discovered by a passer-by, stolen and eaten, under the mistaken idea that it was a swine's heart.

Honolulu, on the Island of Oahu, is the metropolis of the kingdom. Its harbor is safe and capacious, and will always be a favorite resort for ships in the Pacific. The island itself is nearly as large as Long Island, I should think, but with high, well-wooded mountains in the center. Its rivers are mere mountain torrents, dwindling in the dry season to tiny brooks.

Honolulu contains ten thousand inhabitants, one-third of them foreigners. There are five churches, three schoolhouses, a few good stores, and many shops where goods are sold. It can boast of two printing-offices, a Sailor's

Home, a steam mill, hotels, restaurants, mechanics' shops, a theater, a bank, a hospital, a palace, and a prison. The palace is not equal to Buckingham, nor the Tuileries, but is spacious and well furnished, and in keeping with the royal revenue. The best-looking buildings are the prison and the "Queen's Hospital." All honor to the noble-minded woman who devised the latter—a befitting expression truly of her pure and generous heart. And not to the sovereigns alone be accorded all the merit of this institution, but to the foreign community also, whose generous philanthropy is an ever-flowing stream, gladdening the hearts of many a pilgrim and wandering prodigal.

The markets furnish beef which even Englishmen praise; mutton, pork, poultry, fruit and vegetables, nice enough to suit any palate, while amateur gardeners and floriculturists produce bouquets, as fragrant and beautiful as ever graced the boudoir of our Mother Eve.

The town is supplied with an abundance of pure water, brought in iron pipes from the valley springs. It has been partially supplied with gas and ice, also.

There are about a dozen lawyers, some of them natives; and as many more physicians, all of whom manage to live—some, to acquire fortunes.

To the young lady who inquired, "What kind of a person is the young king?"* I would say he is quite European in his tastes and manners. Few young men are more fortunate in command of ready compliment and good English.

He was not crowned on coming into power, like European kings, but simply inaugurated, something after the manner of the President of the United States.

*Kamehameha IV.

Chief Justice Lee administered the oath of office. It was an interesting ceremony, the youthful monarch not yet twenty-one, in a handsome, heavily-embroidered uniform, bowing before the chief justice, as he solemnly pledged himself to govern according to the Constitution and laws. Judge Lee wore a suit of plain black, his honest face bespeaking his New England origin.

The press is free, and the expression of public opinion untrammeled. All religions are tolerated. The Catholics own an extensive group of buildings in the very heart of the city, where they live, worship, and where twelve Sisters of the Sacred Heart are employed in teaching children, both native and foreign, and in various other duties usual in such establishments. The priests are stationed all over the group, at the side of every Protestant institution.

To the young lady who asked my daughter, "What amusements have you? Have you ever seen a piano before?" I would say, an amateur musical society has been established several years. Its members hold weekly rehearsals, and give a concert to invited guests once a month. They sing solos, duets, quartettes, and choruses from operas and oratorios, with piano, violin, and flute music. This society is favored at present with the instructions of a French gentleman of the highest musical culture, who was so unfortunate as to be on the unpopular side of politics when the French republic became an empire. In nearly every foreigner's house in town there is a piano-forte and sewing-machine.

There are ladies, native born, who reside in elegant, well-furnished houses, entertain company, give parties, and whose affable and dignified manners would grace any court or country.

For amusements we have school festivals and exam-

inations, agricultural exhibitions, ladies' fancy fairs, moonlight rides on horseback, sea bathing at the fashionable watering-place, Waikiki, balls and parties for those who wish them, and two sewing societies. The object of one of these societies is to aid sick and destitute strangers, so often cast upon our shores; the other appropriates its funds to any desirable object of benevolence. Each of these meet monthly, and both are popular and flourishing.

It may be said, with some qualification, that our sun always shines, our trees are always green, our trade-winds always blow, our atmosphere is always pure. Yet it must be confessed that no one, even here, has discovered the secret of Calypso's fountain, where mortals can bathe and flourish in an eternal spring-time. A little way up Nuuanu Valley is a cemetery for foreigners, with its avenues of evergreens, and marble monuments, "In Memoriam." Representatives of every nation on the globe are among the sleepers in that vale of rest and equality.

The little Hawaiian kingdom is certainly an anomaly among earthly Governments. Antagonistic races dwell together on the same footing, under the same laws, justly and equally administered, and in comparative harmony. Distinction of color does not mar social intercourse, nor as yet create jealous animosities, thanks to the self-denying pioneers for this felicitous starting-point.

It is to be regretted that the poor native Hawaiian could not have had a few more years for quiet improvement in his own way to accumulate a little moral energy (enervated as he had become by generations of absolute heathenism) before entering the lists with the Anglo-Saxon competitor, backed as he is by a long ancestry of civilized and vigorous manhood.

The Hawaiian is yielding in temper, always good-humored, generous, and gentle. But with some shrewdness and keen powers of observation, he lacks *stamina*, that reliability of character which distinguishes the people of England, old and new. He lacks thrift, that Yankee trait which knows how to make one dollar into two. To supply the want of to-day, is his only care. He is imitative and very susceptible to surrounding influences.

The great national want is not a standing army nor a foreign loan to meet State expenses, nor more ample provision for the support of English schools, to urge on the *forcing process*, nor more liberty, nor better laws, nor a lighter taxation; but a generation of uncontaminated Hawaiian mothers, with their Bible in their own language, their family altar, unambitious for foreign accomplishments and luxury, and willing to perform with their own hands the humble but elevating duties of the household.

Thrice blessed is the man, or woman, whose *example* is safe for imitation, and who is ready to extend a helping hand to the Hawaiian in his efforts to climb the upward path to the attainment of a more refined civilization and Christianity.

APPENDIX I.

[THE following letter from Dr. Judd to his former colleague in office, Mr. R. C. Wyllie, is an epitome of the Doctor's political life in the Hawaiian kingdom, and displays his characteristics so strikingly, that it is deemed proper to publish it here.]

HONOLULU, *February* 17, 1860.

MY DEAR WYLLIE:

You enquire of me respecting the agency I had in the early organization of the Hawaiian Government.

This agency commenced imperceptibly after the death of Kaahumanu, whom I always attended as physician, but who seldom required my services in any other capacity. After her death, the late King* adopted Kaomi, a Tahitian, as his counsellor and Minister, who introduced the distillation of okolehao,† the abrogation of marriage, the idea that the will of the King was the law of the land, and other evils, to please the King and flatter the people.

Kinau,‡ the mother of the present King, finding herself thus displaced from the office of Kuhina, which was hers by right of birth, came to my house on one occasion, requesting that Mrs. Judd and myself would receive her as a member

* Kauikeaouli, or Kamehameha III.

† "Okolehao," the native term for liquor distilled from the roots of the ti plant (*dracæna*).

‡ Kinau, being the oldest surviving daughter of Kamehameha I., was entitled by Hawaiian custom to the office of "Kuhina" or Prime Minister, or Premier, as it was called in later times. The Kuhina originally had sovereign authority jointly with the King.

of the family. She had become disgusted with the state of things, and since the King preferred the advice of Kaomi, she had determined to retire into private life.

We endeavored to convince her that such a course was wrong; that she had a responsibility resting upon her and a duty to perform, both to the King and the nation, which required immediate and prudent action. Our arguments convinced her. By our advice she presented herself before the King and claimed her rights, which were acknowledged, and she was in due time proclaimed as Kuhina.

The birth of the present King,* February 9, 1834, and his immediate adoption as his heir by the King, took place in my presence, an act which secured the rights of Kinau and the fall of Kaomi. Such having been the good results of the advice she had received and followed, Kinau, from that time to the day of her death, became our warmest friend, and claimed from me the best advice and assistance I could afford on all important occasions. In March, 1834, by her urgent request, I accompanied the Princess Nahienaena on a tour of the island of Oahu. She was accompanied by Hoapili, Liliha, Kekauluohi, Kekauonohi and a large retinue of minor chiefs and people. The King and Kaomi were with us a part of the time (which we spent at Ewa), behaving in a most disgraceful manner, but none of the party of the Princess were led away by their example.

After about ten days at Ewa we took leave of the King, and went on our journey, stopping at the different villages; and the people being assembled in great numbers, were always addressed by Hoapili, sometimes by the Princess and myself, with a view of influencing them to avoid intemperance and give attention to instruction. All the distilleries (which were nothing more than an iron pot and a gun-barrel, or other tube) were overthrown and destroyed by the orders of Hoapili, and from that time they have been unknown on

* The late Alexander Liholiho Kamēhameha IV. (See p. 249).

these islands. Kinau died in 1839. During these five years I was employed as her interpreter, aiding in a variety of matters necessary to the existence of the Government, although most imperfect and rude. A small building was erected, in which were opened records of decisions of justices, accounts of taxes to be paid over to the King, registry of vessels, letters from consuls, etc., and the services of a number of clerks, among whom was the present Governor of Kauai,* were constantly required. Kekuanaoa† was over these clerks, and I instructed him how to do their business in the Hawaiian language. Here, then, the Government had a locality. Here came the consuls to make their complaints, and the commanders of ships of war to make and enforce their demands; and although there was no treasury, and no visible means of paying debts or remunerating public officers, the Premier's office was of the utmost importance.

Kekauluohi, succeeding Kinau, continued to do business in the same manner through Kekuanaoa, to whom by this time I had become a constant assistant.

Mr. Richards entered the service of the King as interpreter, and was faithfully employed at Lahaina in delivering to the King and some of his young men a course of lectures on political economy and in arranging a constitution and laws, services highly important; but this did not silence my constant complaints that he should leave so important a port as Honolulu exposed to the liability of making the greatest mistakes, endangering, if not actually causing, the loss of the King's sovereignty, unless I, who was still supported by the American Board, were constantly turned aside from my appropriate duties to attend to his.

During the life of Kinau and before the birth of the Princess Victoria, the subject of the education of her children

---

* Paul Kanoa, still alive.

† Husband of Kinau and father of Kamehamehas IV. and V., and Princess Victoria.

was freely discussed between us. One child was with the King; another, the eldest, was with the Governor of Kauai; and the other at Maui with Hoapili. These discussions resulted in an understanding that, if a boarding-school could be established by the Mission for their education, she would favor and support it. This being settled, I communicated with Mr. Richards, who brought the business before the Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Cooke were appointed teachers of this school, but the plan of the house, the details throughout, fell to my share—the credit to others.

With the increased intercourse of foreigners increased the difficulties of carrying on the Government and the danger to the sovereignty of the King. The English Consul, notwithstanding the proportion of British subjects was small, was most active in hostility, claiming for his Government almost the rights of a protectorate. As precautionary measures, the King, to whose councils I was not yet admitted, leased to Brinsmade, Ladd and Hooker, citizens, all the unoccupied lands in the islands.

This being known to the British Consul, he increased his demands upon the Government, and wrote to the Admiral at Valparaiso for a force sufficient to enable him to obtain justice. Just at this period, in the spring of 1842, it was determined to send Mr. Richards to Europe, and the King sent for me to visit him at Lahaina. He there requested me to take the place of Mr. Richards while he might be absent. This I declined, not wishing to lecture; but making known my opinions as to the immediate necessity of collecting and preserving a revenue, distinct from that of the King and chiefs, for the purposes of Government and for the payment of debts, as well as some provision for the transaction of business with foreigners; the King, with much hesitation on the part of the chiefs, adopted my plan.

This resulted in the appointment of a Treasury Board,* of

* May 15, 1842.

which I was commissioned as a member, with general powers to act as interpreter and to transact business with all foreigners. This was better defined in 1843 by my appointment as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

During the nine months preceding the provisional cession of the islands to Great Britain, we had so far arranged the finances as to have regular books of accounts, a regular system of receiving the taxes in produce, and converting them into money; we had paid the most pressing debts, and had cash enough in the chest to establish a pretty good credit for the Government. My salary was seven hundred and fifty dollars per annum.

The French frigate *Ambuscade*, Capt. Mallet, arrived at Honolulu, making similar demands to those of La Place, with an intent, so far as I could judge, of taking possession of the islands. I was not yet appointed as Secretary of State, and as the demands were made against the King, I could only meet them by writing the King's letters in reply.

No one can tell how much I suffered of anxiety and mental labor on this occasion, but the result was that Capt. Mallet consented to refer all these matters to France, when the Hawaiian Government would be represented by Messrs. Richards and Haalilio.

The British Consul, fearing the influence of Mr. Richards in London, had taken his departure for England in the most secret manner, leaving the Consulate with Alexander Simpson, an avowed advocate of the annexation of these islands to Great Britain, and a personal enemy of Governor Kekuanaoa and myself; and as this unacceptable person had been thrust upon us in such an unceremonious manner, the Governor, by my advice, refused to acknowledge him, and they refused an *exequatur*.

The *Carysfort*, Lord George Paulet, arrived in February, with instructions from the Admiral to place himself under

* November 2, 1843.

the direction of the Consul. He acknowledged Mr. Simpson as such, and in obedience to his orders, the most unjust, extravagant and cruel demands were made and enforced at the cannon's mouth. Some of these demands were acquiesced in, but when they became so outrageous, with new ones coming forward every day, the King declared he would bear it no longer. "They might take what they pleased, he would give no more." I said: "They want your islands, and are determined to have them by cession or by conquest. If they take possession by force, you will have no redress; they will keep your islands forever, but if you cede to Lord George Paulet *for the time being*, and refer to Great Britain as umpire, the justice of your cause can be made so clear that you are sure to receive back your sovereignty in due time."

The King and chiefs considered this, and I was directed to make the proposal to Lord George. He referred to Mr. Simpson, who gladly accepted the cession upon my own terms.

Intimations of what was going on getting abroad, the French and American Consuls conceived the idea of advising the King to cede his islands to the United States and France until Great Britain should do us justice.

This I opposed, although all the men of influence and wealth were in favor of the project. They petitioned the King, offered him a deed of cession to sign; but Kamehameha III. in this, as in every instance that has come to my knowledge, stood by me and supported my policy.

After the restoration by Admiral Thomas, during which I had a sharp contest in mitigating the terms, until the Admiral said he would not restore the flag unless they were accepted, I set about in earnest to carry into operation my plan for the permanency of the Government, which I had already made known to the King. It was *to unite the foreign with the native element as subjects and as officers* of Government. Mr. Paty had already been appointed Collector of Customs.

A lawyer was needed. I had requested Mr. Richards to send one from either the United States or England by the earliest opportunity, but circumstances were urgent, and hearing of the arrival of one from Oregon,* I engaged him on my own responsibility until the Council could be assembled. The chiefs made great objection to the employment of *another* foreigner, objected to his pay, etc.; and it was only upon my personal guarantee for his conduct and character, and promise to find the means of paying him without embarrassment to other branches of the Government, that I gained my point. He was commissioned, and with his free consent, placed under my control. I was now Secretary of Foreign Affairs, besides having the responsibility of the Treasury and matters in general. The effort to induce foreigners to take the oath of allegiance, the imposition of the five per cent. duty, the license system, together with the firm and bold stand taken by Mr. Ricord, made me many enemies out of old friends, who did not like to see affairs taking such a direction.

The sentiment among the foreign community had obtained considerable permanence that they were not long to be subject to native rule. The French and English favored the idea, exempting their subjects from trial except by a jury of their own countrymen. Efforts were made to oust me. A petition was presented to the King by the American Commissioner,† signed by a majority of the citizens of that Republic, for my removal. The King appointed a Commission to hear the case; they reported, no cause of complaint, and I resigned my place of Secretary of State in favor of Mr. Wyllie. Mr. Jarves had already revived the *Polynesian* (newspaper), which was eventually purchased by Government, and he made an officer of the Crown under my responsibility.

At this period Mr. Richards returned from Europe after

* John Ricord, an able lawyer, versed in the civil as well as common laws, drafter of the laws of 1846.

† Mr. George Brown.

an absence of three years, and whatever may be said in praise of his labors in organizing and holding together the incongruous elements of Government after his return, no one will doubt my agency while he was absent, and I venture to assert that, if I had then resigned, you* would not have held together three months in face of the opposition on Maui, to the "Foreign Officers," and of the "Belgian Contract." Mr. Ricord did the King good service in ridding the islands of that humbug. He was just the man for the times, and without him or some lawyer, we should have been involved in difficulties inextricable, not to say fatal. Am I not entitled to the credit of withstanding and thwarting the proposal to assume the debts and mortgaged property of Ladd & Co.? Did I not wind up the Arbitration?

The Land Commission was my idea. It was promised before your arrival, and established as soon as possible. It had been employed a year or two upon claims of foreigners principally, but no claims of natives could be decided until the breaking up of the old feudal system which allowed to the King, chiefs and people an interest in the soil, the tenure of each subject to the will of his superior. The King and chiefs labored in vain for two years to make some division among themselves which would enable each to own some land independently. It could not be done. There was no one but myself had the knowledge, and I may say the resolution, to act efficiently. I therefore volunteered my services to the King, and on condition of his appointing as my fellow-laborers those whom I named, pledged myself to make the division.† You know

---

* The Cabinet then consisting of John Young, Judd, Wyllie, Richards, and Ricord as Attorney-General.

† The book in which this record was made is called the "Mahele Book," or Book of Division. It contains a complete list of all the lands in the kingdom, with releases by the chiefs to the King of the lands they surrendered, and releases to the chiefs of the lands divided off to them as their share. It is dated from January 27th to March 7, 1848.

that the work was *done*, and how thoroughly; but you can never know what obstacles had to be encountered; whose feelings were hurt; whose rights, in his or her estimation, were disregarded; but I have the satisfaction of knowing that, on the whole, the division was fair, and a great blessing to the Hawaiian nation.

The inefficiency and inexperience of Mr. Young* made it necessary for some one to aid him in his department. I had, upon the organization of the Government in 1846, charge of various important branches of business that belonged to the Interior Department, but having now succeeded in placing the best available men in power, I desired to give my whole attention to my own Department—that of Finance. Mr. Young asked my assistance. I declined, and Mr. Richards promised to do what he required. At the same time, the care of the Government vessels, the prison labor, public buildings, etc., etc., were left on my hands. I remonstrated with Mr. Young, and he blamed Mr. Richards.

Finally, I was compelled by these circumstances to assist Mr. Young and release Mr. Richards. I did not interfere with the Courts after the appointment of Judge Lee, nor did I ever influence or control the Land Commission, but there was a feeling in the minds of many that I assumed too much —so strong a feeling that one of the employés of the Government thought it right to bring against me, before the King, sixteen charges and one hundred and seventy-five specifications, the great object of which was to show that I had *usurped* the duties of the Minister of the Interior!

You were one of my Judges. I need say no more upon this subject.

Up to 1849, and I may say, up to 1859, every available source of revenue to the Government except the poll tax, was of my own devising, and the poll-tax itself was, by my

* Mr. John Young, or Keoni Ana, a half-caste, a favorite of Kamehameha III., and a most courtly gentleman.

advice, diverted from being a perquisite of the King to be a revenue of the Government.

All the credit I claim for agency in the Department of Foreign Affairs may be reduced to one point: *your appointment as Minister*, which would never have happened but for me. I did, however, with Judge Lee, face the music on board the *Gassendi*, and I negotiated the Treaties with the United States and Great Britain, although I cheerfully resigned to Mr. Jarves the credit of the one, and to you of the other. If my policy had been carried out with France, we should have had a French treaty in similar terms with those long ago.

Perhaps I may be wrong in calling this *my* policy, since it was also that of Lord Palmerston, with whom I settled the conditions of the Treaty.

I find that the method most people take to get credit for good works is to blow their own trumpet. This trumpeting you will not lay to my charge, unless in the present instance I am guilty of it. If I am, excuse it for once, and believe me,

Truly yours,

G. P. JUDD.

APPENDIX II.

RECENT HISTORY OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

ALEXANDER LIHOLIHO came to the throne December 15, 1854, as Kamehameha IV. He was an amiable and talented Prince, of engaging manners and accomplishments. The crowning act of his reign was the building of the Queen's Hospital, subscriptions for which he personally solicited, and whose corner-stone he laid in 1859. This noble charity, now considerably enlarged and well supported (by a tax of two dollars on every passenger coming into this kingdom), is an enduring monument to his memory. He married Emma Rooke, daughter of Naea and Fanny Young, on the 2d of June, 1856, and on the 20th of May, 1858, the Queen gave birth to a boy. High hopes were centered on this "Prince of Hawaii," but he died on the 27th of August, 1862, and the bitterness of grief greatly affected his father, who followed him to the grave November 30, 1863, aged only 29.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

In October, 1862, a Bishop of the Anglican Church and staff of clergy arrived at the islands, in response to an autograph letter of Kamehameha IV.'s to Queen Victoria, requesting a chaplain for the royal family. Considerable feeling was aroused at this intrusion upon the "comity of missions," but the Right Rev. T. Nettleship Staley, Bishop of Honolulu, was received with great favor by the King, who assisted him by translating the Prayer-book into Hawaiian.

For a while the novelty of the liturgical services attracted the Hawaiian mind. Dr. Staley was succeeded, after a few years, by the Right Rev. Alfred Willet, an earnest worker, who reports in 1880 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that "the interest in the movement, both in England and at the islands, has lost its life—that the cathedral is not yet built, and the fund for its erection is at a stand-still." The number embraced in the congregations is given at 150, and the communicants at 70. Considerable work is, however, done by the English Mission in the cause of education; the Bishop's College School, containing 52 boys; St. Andrew's Priory, 79 girls; and the church at Honolulu is supplying a real want to Episcopalians.

REIGN OF KAMEHAMEHA V.

Lot Kamehameha succeeded his brother as Kamehameha V. He appeared to be dissatisfied with the democratic tendencies of the people, and, averring that he could not conscientiously take the oath to the Constitution, called a convention consisting of the representatives of the people, the nobles and himself, to frame a new one. After long discussion, it appeared to the King that the Convention was not likely to agree upon the article in regard to the property qualifications of voters, and he accordingly abrogated the Constitution of 1852, and promulgated a new one on the 24th of August, 1864.

This *coup d'état* produced no little disquiet, but by degrees the new Constitution was acquiesced in, and after a few years the full number of votes were cast at popular elections. The main feature of the new Constitution was the concentration of governmental powers and the uniting of both Houses of Legislature into one Assembly, which after sixteen years of experience, seems as well adapted as the bicameral system to the peculiar circumstances of this kingdom.

Kamehameha V. possessed firmness of character, verging

upon obstinacy, but trusted his constitutional advisers. His reign is marked by the establishment of the leper asylum at Molokai, the building of a fine stone hotel at Honolulu, and the commencement of the new Government building, which was completed in 1874, at a cost of $120,000. In 1865 a line of steamers was established between San Francisco and Honolulu, which has developed into a continuous monthly service, by good steamships of 3,000 tons, to the Australian Colonies, stopping at Honolulu each way, to which line the Government pays a subsidy of $1,000 per month. This year, 1865, Queen Emma visited Europe and America.

In 1868, a crazy fanatic, named Kaona, resisted the authorities at Kona, Hawaii, and after two murders, he and his party were arrested, and brought to Honolulu, and finally the main movers were tried and sentenced to imprisonment.

In 1869 the Duke of Edinburgh visited the islands. On the 11th of December, 1872, Kamehameha V. died, without issue. His sister, Victoria Kamamalu, had died May 29, 1866; no successor had been proclaimed, and the throne was vacant.

REIGN OF LUNALILO.

The Legislative Assembly was called, and on the 8th of January, 1873, it elected as King, by a unanimous vote, Prince William Charles Lunalilo. This amiable chief was exceedingly popular with the mass of the Hawaiians, and immediately proposed amendments to the Constitution to restore the two Houses of Legislature. His Cabinet commenced negotiations with the United States Minister for a treaty of reciprocity with the United States, offering towards compensation the use of the "Pearl Lochs" at Ewa, Oahu, for a naval station. The King's constitution began to weaken, showing signs of consumption. It was quite evident that he would not live to complete the negotiations, and, meanwhile, a factious opposition had been excited against any alienation of Hawaiian territory, however great the advantages that

might be gained, and the negotiations were dropped. In September, 1873, a mutiny of the troops occurred at the barracks, but nothing was done to them, and they were finally disbanded, without bloodshed, but with a certain loss of authority on the part of the Government.

The King sought health by a residence at Kailua, Hawaii, but failed rapidly, and finally died at Honolulu, on the 3d day of February, 1874. Lunalilo founded by his will an infirmary for aged and poor Hawaiians, which is now in process of erection.

REIGN OF KALAKAUA.

Again the nobles and representatives were called to elect a sovereign for Hawaii. The agents of both Queen Dowager Emma and Hon. David Kalakaua (the most prominent male chief surviving) had been active during this interregnum of nine days. The election was held February 12, 1874, and though the vote stood thirty-seven for Kalakaua and only six for Emma, the popularity of the latter among the people soon showed itself in the shape of a riot, which resulted in the sacking of a part of the court-house, and in assaults on many of the representatives. The apparent object of the mob was to coerce the Assembly into taking another vote, and to elect the one of their choice. The army had been disbanded, the police proved ineffectual, the volunteer troops were divided in their sympathies, and matters were becoming serious, when, on request, troops were landed from the United States ships of war *Tuscarora* and *Portsmouth*, and her British Majesty's ship *Tenedos*, who speedily restored order. Many arrests were made, and about one hundred persons were punished by the Courts for riot. It is difficult to say what the result would have been but for the opportune presence of ships of war in port at the time. His Majesty Kalakaua formed his Government, and made a royal progress throughout the group, and the disaffection became allayed.

In November, 1874, accompanied by a small suite, the

King visited the United States, and was cordially received by the President and Cabinet; and upon all classes of peo ple, where he travelled, he produced a favorable impression. His visit attracted the attention of the United States to these islands, and immediately negotiations were reopened at Washington by Hons. E. H. Allen and H. A. P. Carter, for a convention of commercial reciprocity between the two countries, which was ratified by the Senate, and which went finally into operation by appropriate legislation in both countries, in September, 1876. The Treaty is to remain in force for seven years, and for twelve months after notice of its termination. The results of this Treaty, which admits free of duty into the United States the sugar and rice produced at the islands, are so marked, in the way of calling capital and labor to the islands, and the rapid development of its agricultural resources, as to call for some statistics.

The exports of sugar were in	1862	3,000,603 lbs.
" "	1868	18,312,926 "
" "	1878	38,431,458 "
" "	1879	48,559,927 "
The exports of rice and paddy were in	1862 ..	921,707 lbs.
" " " "	1868 ..	903,404 "
" " " "	1878 ..	5,552,659 "
" " " "	1879 ..	4,831,628 "
The total value of imports was in	1868.....	$1,800,046 18
" " " "	1878.....	3,046,369 70
" " exports "	1868.....	1,898,215 63
" " " "	1878.....	3,548,471 84
For the year 1879 the exports were	.....	$3,787,717 97
" " imports were	.....	3,742,978 39

The total receipts of the Government for the years		The total expenditures of the Government for the years	
1860–61 were.....	$668,186 56	1860–61 were	$681,788 83
1870–71 "	964,956 35	1870–71 "	969,784 14
1878–79 "	1,703,736 88	1878–79 "	1,495,697 48

The Treaty of Reciprocity has greatly stimulated the trade

of the Pacific Coast, and the islands are now large consumers of the produce of California and the Territories.

The present national debt of the islands is $388,900.

The number of vessels under the Hawaiian flag in 1860 were 49, with an aggregate tonnage of 5,030 tons. In 1880 they were 69, with an aggregate tonnage of 11,410 tons. Of these eight are steamers, all but one built in the United States, as well as nearly all of the other vessels.

The population of the group was by the

Census of	1832	130,313
"	1836	108,579
"	1850	84,165
"	1860	69,700
"	1866	62,959
"	1872	56,897
"	1878	57,985

The decrease of the native population from 1872 to 1878 was 4,023; increase of foreign population for the same period was 5,111.

The amount expended by the Government for education for two years ending March 31, 1880, was $147,076.65. On the 1st of January, 1880, there were 210 schools in the islands, with an attendance of 7,164 pupils.

The Judiciary of the kingdom consists of a Supreme Court, with three Judges, holding commissions for life; Circuit Courts on the islands of Hawaii, Maui and Kauai; and District or Police Courts in each of the twenty-six districts. The methods of procedure are closely allied to those of the States of the American Union.

Immigration.—During the past two years there have been introduced into this kingdom, under the patronage of the Government, 930 Portuguese from the Madeira Islands, and 1,180 Polynesians, mainly from the Gilbert Islands. In the business of procuring immigrants from the South Seas, the Government have four vessels engaged, and much is hoped

from this scheme as supplying a population analogous to the Hawaiian.

It is estimated that there are now from 8,000 to 10,000 Chinese in the islands. Thus far they have proved valuable to its agricultural and commercial interests, for the sugar plantations depend largely upon them for labor, and rice is cultivated by them exclusively. They are now erecting a Christian church at Honolulu to cost $6,000. The lands suitable for rice are now generally taken up, and it is quite doubtful that the islands will become a Chinese colony, as predicted by some.

There are now fifty-six churches under the auspices of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association—the successors of the A. B. C. F. M.—with an aggregate membership of between 7,000 and 8,000 souls. These churches are self-sustaining, and contributed last year $4,428.96 for foreign missionary work. A training-school for candidates for the ministry is now prospering, with fifteen pupils, under the presidency of Dr. C. M. Hyde. The religious wants of the foreign population are supplied by the Fort Street church and bethel at Honolulu, and independent churches at Hilo and Kohala, Hawaii, at Haiku on Maui and Lihue, Kauai. The Roman Catholic religion seems to hold its own among the natives, but no recent statistics are accessible.

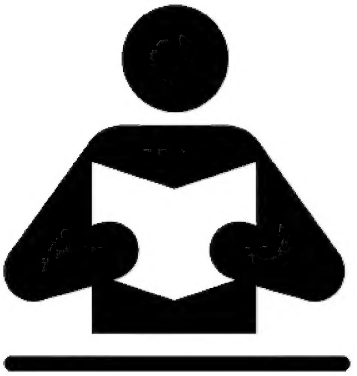
The future of the Hawaiian Islands is inevitably connected with that of the Pacific coast of America, and being the only group holding such a position, statesmen of the United States, impressed with the importance of the Pacific Ocean as the theatre of great events in the near future, have ever been willing to aid the friends of the Hawaiians in sustaining an independent Government, founded and administered in accordance with the principles developed by the civilization of the age. So long as such a Government is maintained by the Hawaiians, it is undoubtedly for the best interests of all nations that it should be sustained in its independence. If,

however, intrigue from without or dissensions within should threaten the integrity of the Government, or should attempts be made to make the islands the arena of events inimical to the interests of foreign commerce or of the neighboring States, it may become the duty of the United States to protect the interests of the Pacific States by the exercise of an active influence, which will preserve the institutions established by the devoted labors of American missionaries and other friendly foreigners. A. F. J.

HONOLULU, *October* 1, 1880.

Images Processed by Gary Brin
Copyright © Nancy Hanks Lincoln Public Library

NANCY HANKS LINCOLN PUBLIC LIBRARY
Historical Book Collection



Nancy Hanks Lincoln Public Library

NANCY HANKS LINCOLN PUBLIC LIBRARY
Historical Book Collection